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INF Verification Commission Begins Session

LD1010163889 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Geneva October 10 TASS—The special verification commission, established under the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, began its fifth session here today.

On the agenda are several legal and technical issues related to the INF treaty.

Geneva Talks Resume, Burt Comments on Prospects

LD1010190989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Video report by V. Dmitriyev in Geneva; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The next round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons is under way in Geneva. [video shows a large Mercedes arriving at a gate, U.S. flag flying on the building]

The main task is drawing-up an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in the U.S. and USSR strategic arsenals. The diplomats and military experts of the two countries have been working on this problem here since 1985. [video shows Nazarkin and two unidentified men arriving by Mercedes and being welcomed]

There are still a lot of unresolved questions, but much has been done. Much has been utilized from the experience gained in the process of drawing-up the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is in force now. The agreement on SOW—strategic offensive weapons—is considerably more complicated. [video shows talks in progress, camera focuses on Nazarkin and Burt, both smiling]

Impasses were arising here frequently on the key aspect: The relationship between the adherence to the ABM Treaty—in simpler terms about nonplacement of weapons in space—and the solving of the main tasks of the talks. Thanks to Moscow's initiative expounded by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his message to George Bush and approved by the White House, a breakthrough has appeared on this question. The Soviet side, Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the USSR's delegation, stressed at a news conference, is ready to sign and ratify the SOW treaty even in the case when the agreement on the ABM problem has not been reached by the time of completing its drafting. Useful proposals were put forward by both sides. [video shows Nazarkin addressing news conference; video cuts to Dmitriyev talking to Richard Burt, Burt is captioned as the head of the U.S. delegation—Burt is heard speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation]

The U.S. representative is speaking about the special importance of the present stage. In his view it consists in the fact that the round opened after the meeting between Soviet Minister of Foreign affairs and the U.S. president and Secretary of State in the United States and after Bush's and Shevardnadze's speeches from the UN rostrum in New York. Our leaders gave an order to act, I would say. In a word, here we must implement the spirit of the meetings which passed so successfully in the United States recently. I am in an optimistic mood, especially as businesslike relations based on trust have developed between us and the Soviet delegation. The international public is following the talks with increased attention. After all, at issue is a new stage and the drafting of an agreement, which could be signed already next year during the Soviet-U.S. summit.

Movement Appeals for Nuclear Test Moratorium

LD0710151989 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Participants in the antinuclear movement circulated an appeal in Moscow on 5 October. [passage omitted: Details of letter sent to Cheney and Yazov on behalf of the peoples of Kazakhstan by the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement calling for a moratorium on nuclear tests]

The president of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, Olzhas Sulaymanov, said the aim of the appeal is the following:

[Begin Sulaymanov recording in Russian, fading to superimposed English translation] We suggest that our movement and all the antinuclear forces in the country establish a direct dialogue with the military departments and with those who are engaged in the production of nuclear material. We'd like our dialogue to be known to the entire Soviet public. We realize that if nuclear testing is stopped in the Soviet Union, millions of people elsewhere will be able to force other sides, including the United States, to halt or reduce the scale of nuclear testing. It means that the chain of the production and testing of nuclear weapons leading mankind to a catastrophe will be broken. [end recording]

The journalists also got the text of the movement's message to the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. The message calls on the Soviet leader:

To assume upon himself the responsibility and take a decisive step toward overcoming the disastrous confrontation of the superpowers. We call on you to declare a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

Another nuclear test carried out on 4 October served as a pretext for making the two documents public. The nuclear device exploded on the testing range in Kazakhstan caused a stormy reaction of the public there. Mass meetings were convened in the cities of Alma-Ata, Karaganda, and others.

The antinuclear movement began gathering momentum in Kazakhstan earlier this year, when the public found out that nuclear tests are not at all harmless for people's health,

especially for those who live in the vicinity of the testing range. In the words of the president of the antinuclear movement himself, who is a well-known poet and the first secretary of the Writers' Union in Kazakhstan and who has been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the antinuclear movement was given a fresh impetus when one night in February an acquaintance of his, a military man that works in the testing range, phoned him and told that the radioactive release occurred at the range after a regular nuclear explosion. Everyone thought at the time that that was an exception from the rule, but as it turned out that happened during almost every test. When a group of independent experts studied the ecological situation in the region, they arrived at the only conclusion: The testing range must be closed.

Asked by journalists if he had fears that the unilateral moratorium may lower the level of the Soviet Union's defense capability, Olzhas Sulaymanov had this to say:

[Begin Sulaymanov recording in Russian, fading to superimposed English translation] Our nuclear arsenals are overfulfilled with nuclear bombs which can last for 24,000 years, until the plutonium in their warheads disintegrates. Do we need to add to these arsenals all the time? Only the military-industrial complexes of our two nations derive advantages from that. We are inclined to believe this more and more, for these complexes need to keep dozens of thousands of their workers and engineers busy. They are the best brains of our countries, a powerful intellectual potential. People say that if there was a need to combat cancer or AIDS for military purposes, this could be done very quickly. We cannot put up with the fact that the whole of this potential does not work for peaceful purposes. [end recording] [passage omitted: recalling August rally by the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement and Soviet Peace Committee, address by Genrikh Borovik]

TASS Reports Foreign Ministry News Briefing 10 Oct

UK Skips Human Rights Forum

LD1010152289 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today expressed regret at the British decision not to attend bilateral consultations on human rights, which were to take place in the USSR between October 9-13.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said the formal pretext for the decision was the Soviet denial of a visa to Michael Bourdeaux, a member of the British delegation.

Gerasimov explained that Bourdeaux, rector of Keston College, had grossly violated rules of travel around the country for foreigners during his previous trip to the USSR. He said that the British motive for cancelling the visit by an eleven-strong delegation because of the denial of a visa to one obviously unacceptable person, was unconvincing.

It appears that in London they are not prepared for really serious dialogue on humanitarian problems and are only eager to use the subject to score propaganda points in line with outdated stereotypes, Gerasimov said.

He stressed that the Soviet Union, in contrast, was prepared for such dialogue in a spirit of responsibility and was waiting for the British side to prepare for it as well.

Kidnapping of Red Cross Officials

LD1010152989 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The news about the kidnapping of two Swiss International Red Cross officials in Sayda, Lebanon, caused concern in the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told newsmen today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said it was particularly regrettable that "this time the blow was directed against representatives of the International Red Cross, who perform a noble mission and are under special legal protection of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 protocols supplementing them."

The spokesman said the Soviet Union "resolutely denounces this barbarous act and demands the immediate release of the hostages.

"We call on all parties to the Lebanese confict to show due respect for Red Cross and Red Crescent officials and institutions that seek to alleviate people's suffering."

Trost Arrival, Greenspan Meetings

LD1010181289 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—U.S. Admiral Carlisle Trost arrived in the USSR on Monday on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Defence Ministry, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The admiral's trip is part of a programme of exchanges between the two nations' military establishments.

He will meet Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov and Chief of the General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev.

Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute, had several meetings with top government officials, Gerasimov said.

The spokesman quoted Greenspan as saying he was "satisfied with the results of the meetings."

Greenspan believes that the reciprocal exchange of legal, financial and other economic-related information can be useful in the future for a search for areas of contact between the Soviet and U.S. economies.

Soviet Stance on Afghanistan

LD1010182489 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The Soviet Union has never advanced, nor does it advance now any demands concerning the Afghan settlement, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told newsmen here today.

He was commenting on the statement made by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan in Peshawar on Monday in his address to Pakistani border guards.

The point of the address was that the Soviet Union should cease helping Afghanistan. According to the Pakistani head of state, if the Soviet Union continues to "demand" the inclusion of the present Afghan Government into the structure of the future coalition government, this will be a serious hindrance to the resolution of the conflict in that country.

The Soviet stance, Gerasimov went on to say, is based on the assumption that the Afghan issue can be resolved only by the Afghan people themselves.

Proceeding from this assumption, the Soviet Union has called and continues to call for an end to any interference into Afghan internal affairs and the promotion of an inter-Afghan political dialogue with the aim of establishing a broad-based coalition government.

It is impossible to attain peace and national accord in Afghanistan while ignoring such a politically and militarily influential force as the legitimate government of the Afghan Republic.

Any attempt by whatever party to urge the unconditional withdrawal of the present government cannot be regarded as anything but a desire to continue interfering into the affairs of the sovereign Afghan state and dictate to the Afghan people how they should arrange their future.

Touching upon the Western media's allegations about the presence of 300 Soviet military advisers engaged in firing missiles in Afghanistan, Gerasimov stressed that "all allegations of this kind are completely groundless".

Chemical Weapons Concerns

LD1010181989 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—Reports of a new approach of the U.S. Administration to a chemical weapons ban naturally concerns the Soviet Union. A Soviet Foreign Ministry official told newsmen today. [paragraph as received]

Grigoriy Berdennikov, deputy head of the ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Department, commented on an October 9 article in THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper.

The article said the United States will seek revisions in the agreed text of a draft global treaty authorising the destruction of chemical weapons, to continue producing these weapons even after the treaty enters into force.

Berdennikov said that, if the new approach "is implemented at the talks, it would undermine the existing basis for agreeing the draft treaty and throw the negotiating process, which has already entered its concluding stage, far back."

He said "one cannot fail to see that the U.S. decision may become a factor promoting the proliferation of chemical weapons before the treaty begins to take effect and legalising this proliferation even within the treaty's framework.

"If the content of THE WASHINGTON POST article corresponds to reality, it would mean that the arrangements, already agreed at the talks, are sacrificed for the sake of the programme of binary chemical weapons production."

The official said the Soviet Union "firmly believes that the treaty should authorise the complete and effectively verifiable termination of the production of all chemical weapons immediately after it enters into force.

"We call for restraint and termination of chemical weapons production even before the treaty is concluded."

Berdennikov said the Soviet Union had ceased producing chemical weapons way back in February 1987.

Reporters' attention was then drawn to a recent article in the British SUNDAY TIMES newspaper claiming that the Soviet Union is using genetic engineering for military purposes.

They were read a statement of the chief of Soviet chemical troops, Lieutenant-General Stanislav Petrov, who said "these allegations have absolutely no real grounds."

Officials at the briefing said there was some logic in the appearance of such allegations. They are usually timed to some real steps concerning the chemical weapons ban talks and aim to question the Soviet Union's sincerity on chemical disarmament.

Central Europe Chemical Weapons-Free Zone

LD1010195889 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes any practical move to reduce the chemical war threat, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said at a news briefing today.

Grigoriy Berdennikov, deputy head of the ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Department, commented on a statement by the West German Defence Ministry's parliamentary secretary that U.S. chemical weapons will be withdrawn from West Germany by the end of 1991.

This date is one year ahead of the earlier-adopted schedule, the Soviet official said.

He noted that the Soviet Union favours the withdrawal of chemical weapons from central Europe and recalled that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, during his recent visit to the German Democratic Republic, reiterated Soviet support for the GDR's proposal to create a zone free from chemical weapons in central Europe.

"We're glad that this idea is finally entering the stage of practical implementation," Berdennikov said. "The Soviet Union will guarantee and respect the status of such a zone and the sovereign choice of central European countries."

He confirmed that the Soviet Union has no chemical weapons beyond its borders, including central Europe and the GDR.

"We favour non-deployment of chemical weapons beyond national frontiers as a step strengthening confidence on the way towards the full elimination of chemical weapons around the world," Berdennikov said.

Summary of News Briefing

LD1010210989 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The news about the kidnapping of two Swiss International Red Cross officials in Sayda, Lebanon caused concern in the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told newsmen on Tuesday.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said the Soviet Union "resolutely denounces this barbarous act and demands the immediate release of the hostages."

He then commented on the British decision not to attend bilateral consultations on human rights, which were to take place in the USSR between October 9-13. This decision naturally evokes disappointment, Gerasimov said.

He noted that the formal pretext for the decision was the Soviet denial of a visa to Michael Bourdeaux, a member of the British delegation. Gerasimov explained that Bourdeaux, rector of Keston College, had grossly violated rules of travel around the country for foreigners during his previous trip to the USSR.

He said the British motive for cancelling the visit by an eleven- strong delegation because of the denial of a visa to one obviously unacceptable person, was unconvincing.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said Margaret Anstee, under- secretary-general of the U.N. Vienna office, had visited the Soviet Union on October 3-7 at the invitation of the Interior Ministry.

During her visit, a memorandum was signed on mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Interior Ministry and the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the U.N. Vienna office in the prevention of crime.

The spokesman commented on a recent article in the British SUNDAY TIMES newspaper claiming that British military researchers have samples of new Soviet dangerous toxic agents.

He said "the Soviet side proposes setting up an independent authoritative international commission of scientists, who would determine the nature and origin of the agents, using all up-to-date methods, and submit results of their analysis to the international public."

Petrovskiy Attends 44th United Nations Session

Addresses Committee on Law

LD0710091789 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy addressed on Friday the 6th Committee on Law of the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly. He presented the Soviet concept of the role of law at the present, crucial for mankind, stage of the world development.

The essence of the concept, put in a nutshell, is the preponderance of international law in the political behaviors of states.

The concept of the predominance of law forms is accepted as the basis of the foreign policy strategy of the Soviet Union.

Acting in line with the comprehensive approach to security along all directions at once—military-political, socio-economical and ecological—the world community must resolve all problems by political means leaning on law, developing law and strengthening the legal basis of international intercourse, the Soviet diplomat stressed.

It is necessary to shape a new model of security based on political and legal guarantees and effective mechanisms of international cooperation aimed at overcoming bloc or any other group barriers and divisions.

For this purpose law should be freed from the depositions of the Cold War and be turned from a tool serving the foreign policy of states and a means of justifying oneself, or, the other way round, of accusing others to an inalienable attribute of existence of our civilization.

It is only law and order and self-restriction by international law that is capable of securing a positive evolution of the world and the preservation of its stability and consolidations, and making a new world an organised community.

The life and development of the new community must be manageable. This leads us to new view of the role of multilateral forums as the bodies of mankind's self-government.

The most considerable result of the work in the legal sphere is a considerable greater respect for international law and law in general shown by the world community.

This healthful political environment, in which law is united with the political will of states, is absolutely necessary for mankind's future.

Of course, there is no ground so far, for excessive euphoria. The international community is now just embarking on the way towards a new, truly law-governed world.

It depends on our common efforts and the efficiency of the United Nations and other international organisations to help mankind avoid losing the main road and ending up in the quagmire of arbitrariness, the impasse of national egotism and the abyss of violence and cataclysms.

We consider expedient an in-depth exchange of opinions at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly on matters related to upgrading the role of international law and its universal observance everywhere, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

To stimulate the discussion of these matters, the Soviet delegation proposed to the attention of the United Nations the memorandum "on upgrading the role of international law".

The memorandum briefly summarizes the Soviet view of ways toward a law-governed world. We are confident that in creating a new model of international security, a transition is needed from deterrence by arms to deterrence by verification, transparency, law and politics.

This is why the main requirement to the international legal strategy is the strengthening of the present and the creation of new guarantees against by-passing international law.

Another element of the international legal strategy is the consolidation of procedures and mechanisms for peaceful settlement of disputes.

The memorandum contains specific proposals for dealing with this cardinal subject. The proposals cover the entire process—from preventive policies, early identification of disputes, early warning and fact finding to a settlement before a court.

The inclusion into this procedure of the world court re-iterates the Soviet Union's fundamental turn to the use of third-party arbitration.

The Soviet Union has started the process of lifting reservations made earlier in connection with an entire range of treaties making it binding on the parties to submit disputes to the world court for consideration.

The first such step is the lifting of reservations on agreements in the field of human rights.

Still another element in the affirmation of law and order is the overcoming of unilateralism in the interpretation of universally recognised principles of international law and the working out of a wholesome interpretation in the interests of humanity.

Work is under way in the Soviet Union to make the country's internal legislation and practice conform to international norms and ensure initial consistence of transformations in the country's political, economic, cultural and other fields with these progressive norms.

This meets the interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of the world community.

The United Nations Charter provides the fundamentals of modern international law. The United Nations is the most important tool for the further development, codification and translation of legal norms into life.

A law-governed policy is the only permissible policy in the present fragile and vulnerable world. This policy alone, i.e. policy confined to the respect for the interests of other nations and the entire world community, can satisfy the truly national interests.

It is the United Nations alone that is capable of identifying and pooling, at a universal level, national aspirations, and uniting the disparate efforts into a single creative power, the Soviet deputy foreign minister stressed.

Meets UN Chief Perez de Cuellar

LD1010121689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 9 October, a meeting was held in New York between Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister and deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the 44th UN General Assembly session, and UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Perez de Cuellar's attention was drawn to the Soviet memorandum, distributed recently at the session, on increasing the United Nation's preventative functions and on increasing the role of international law, which expresses the idea of the full realization of the organization's peace-making potential.

More on Lobov Address to NATO Assembly in Rome

PM1010152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Session's Work Continues"]

[Text] Rome, 7 Oct—Debates are now under way in permanent commissions at the North Atlantic Assembly session being held here. Participants have shown great interest in a speech by K. Voigt, well-known FRG politician and Bundestag deputy from the Social Democratic Party of Germany, delivered before the Commission for Defense and Security Questions. Some very important changes have taken place in East-West relations during the last few years, he said. A favorable situation has developed in the world primarily thanks to the policy pursued by the Soviet Union under the leadership of M.S. Gorbachev, who advocates the need for new thinking in international affairs.

For the first time in the North Atlantic Assembly's history, Army General V.N. Lobov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact States' Joint Armed Forces, was officially invited to the session. Speaking before the Commission for Defense and Security Questions, he noted in particular: The all-European process, as a reality of the present, is marching on, gathering pace, and acquiring increasingly tangible outlines.

Having dwelled in detail on the decision by Warsaw Pact states to reduce their armed forces and armaments, the

Soviet representative drew the attention of parliamentarians from NATO countries to the Warsaw Pact Organization's sincere readiness to seek, jointly with all interested countries, accords leading to stage-by-stage disarmament. He pointed out the positive development of dialogue between the USSR and the United States, which is promoted by the new Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev.

We believe, he went on to note, that the direct threat of war has diminished. There has been a considerable reduction of the threat of direct aggression against the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states being launched by the United States and NATO. At the same time, we are worried now and will always be worried by the hundreds of military bases which form a huge ring surrounding the Warsaw Pact countries.

The speech pointed out the importance of contacts along military lines between leaders and experts from the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO and of consultations aimed at comparing these alliances' military doctrines, making it possible to strengthen mutual security and trust and to ease military tension in the continent.

United States & Canada

Ryzhkov, Greenspan Discuss Economic Ties

LD1110141689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1327 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board today. He is in Moscow for an unofficial visit.

Noting that thanks to the efforts of both sides, relations between the USSR and the United States are now becoming more active, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed the significance of the accord achieved recently on holding a Soviet-U.S. summit in late spring or early summer of next year. In connection with this, there is a great deal that must be done in the upcoming period to make progress on a wide range of issues that await resolution. This is also related to regulating economic ties with the United States on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis.

The Soviet side expressed the conviction that thorough examination of issues concerning trade and economic cooperation at the forthcoming summit meeting would be in accordance with the interests of further constructive developments of relations between the USSR and the United States and a practical transition from mutual understanding to cooperation. The time has come actively to tackle the elimination of political obstacles remaining in the United States along the path of developing Soviet-U.S. trade.

The U.S. side reacted to this approach with understanding and received positively a report that a draft law "on procedure for USSR citizens to leave and enter the USSR" has been presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The draft law is fully in accordance with the international obligations of the USSR, including the Vienna accords.

The conversation paid a considerable amount of attention to a comparatively untapped area of bilateral relations: Developing contacts and cooperation on issues regarding the financial credit- finance system. As Ryzhkov noted, in conditions of perestroyka and the implementation of economic reform in the Soviet Union, active use of the appropriate regulators in the sphere of money circulation, credit, and state finance, including taking U.S. experience into consideration, may help normalize economic processes and improve the socioeconomic situation in the country.

Alan Greenspan voiced several practical ideas on this problem.

Baker Addresses Senate on U.S.-USSR Links

PM0610134389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Operating To Mutual Advantage"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Oct—U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker addressed the Senate Finance Committee on Wednesday during hearings at which the prospects for Soviet-American economic relations were discussed.

Having dwelt in detail on the transformations taking place in the USSR, he noted that "perestroyka and glasnost are an indissoluble complex of political, economic, and legal measures." According to the secretary of state, in order to achieve substantial results in these spheres, you need not only a sensible acion program, but also "perestroyka of consciousness and perestroyka of attitude on the part of millions of people."

"The present administration wishes perestroyka in the USSR success"—Baker repeated the U.S. government's well-known position, calling for a "realistic" assessment of U.S. potential. The secretary of state enumerated a number of areas in which the United States and the USSR could act to mutual advantage. One of them is achieving accords on various aspects of arms control, which could stabilize the international situation and reduce the burden of military expenditure. "If it were possible to achieve an agreement on reducing conventional armaments, the peace dividends from such an agreement would be very appreciable," he stressed. "And, of course, we are endeavoring to achieve mutually advantageous results in the sphere of strategic arms reduction at the talks on space armaments and chemical armaments and on the problem of nuclear tests."

Baker did not rule out the possibility that the United States might offer "some technical economic assistance at a time when the Soviet Union is attempting to tackle the colossal task of perestroyka of its economy." But he again opposed Soviet membership in such international financial organizations as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, stating that the Soviet Union's current economic system is "largely incompatible" with their activity.

Answering a question about the prospects for granting the USSR most favored nation treatment in trade, the secretary of state gave assurances that "steps will be taken in that direction at the right time." According to him, the administration would be prepared to ask Congress to temporarily suspend the action of the Jackson-Vanik amendment next year as long as the legislative foundation has been provided for the political and economic reforms that are being carried out by the Soviet government.

"We want perestroyka and glasnost to succeed, but must also acknowledge that there is a limit to our influence," he said in conclusion. "It is an internal revolution. Its success depends ultimately on the Soviet people. For its part, the United States must and will act in accordance with its own national interests. But these interests are not isolated from events taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. I believe we must adopt a creative

approach to the quest for mutually advantageous spheres in which we can achieve something through joint efforts."

U.S. Leaders Seen Sowing Distrust in USSR Policy

LD0810030189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] We continue with Moscow Viewpoint by Valentin Zorin. Here is what he writes:

In my view the latest developments in Soviet-American relations are gratifying. I mean primarily the recent meetings and conversations held by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze with President Bush in Washington and with Secretary of State Baker in Wyoming. It is generally believed that the new agreements reached there raised relations between the two countries to a higher level. The recent visit to the United States by Soviet Defense Minister Yazov, the first trip to the U.S. by a Soviet defense minister ever, also turned into a prominent event. Now Soviet-American contacts and mutual understanding have spread to the military area, too.

Nevertheless, some Washington officials have made statements that are obviously at odds with all this. I'll cite some of them. Defense Secretary Cheney, for one, said in San Francisco a few days ago that the USSR continued to be the main military adversary of the United States and in this connection he called for continuing with implementation of extensive programs for developing new strategic weapons systems. At about the same time Vice President Quayle declared in a conversation with the Japenese prime minister that the United States still stood face to face with a power capable of destroying it. He evidently implied the USSR. The vice president said it was too early for the United States to think of substantial cuts in its strategic potential and military spending. As for Admiral Carlisle Trost, chief of naval operations, he said recently that the Soviet leader's peace initiatives could allegedly be just strategy and therefore the United States should not succumb to them to avoid finding itself in a weaker position.

Well I think, writes Valentin Zorin, that such statements made by high-ranking American officials are not just a coincidence, the more so as the press repeated their words. Evidently this is a striving to sow doubts in the minds of Americans, to sow distrust in the Soviet policy. Or maybe this is an attempt to devalue agreements reached in Wyoming. Nevertheless, in my view statements made in the old confrontational spirit made in the United States are even less convincing now than they used to be.

Take the allegations that the Soviet defense potential poses a threat to the United States. We in the Soviet Union might also say that the American missiles targeted on Soviet cities to this day threaten our country. Such statements can lead to quite opposite conclusions. In the past both sides built up their armaments proceeding from such assessments. Now the understanding that there is a need for seeking to reduce the mutual threat by cutting arms stockpiles under strict control is beginning to prevail. In my view this is what is most important: To stick to the old stereotypes on mutual threats can only hinder movement along the only sensible road to achieving security through disarmament.

U.S. Congressional Debates on SDI Described

PM1110153789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Evening Edition p 3

[Own Correspondent L. Koryavin report: "SDI: Billions Into Infinity"]

[Text] Washington—Debates are under way in Congress. Long and keen debates. If you go up to the press gallery long after midnight you can see the Senate hall filled with deputies. The discussion on appropriations for the SDI program has just ended there. This is part of the general discussion of the U.S. military budget totalling $288 billion. SDI was the most contentious of all its items.

The senators are hurrying with the draft laws on military appropriations for fiscal 1990. By tradition it begins in the United States on 1 October. Which means that the time for debate has already run out. Today's debates on SDI took the following form. The administration was asking $4.6 billion for the program in the next fiscal year. However, the House of Representatives' draft law cut that sum to $3.1 billion.

Senator Malcolm Wallop from Wyoming, an active supporter of SDI, sounded the alarm: "If the House's figures prevail in the final budget the President's plan will be dismantled and the deployment of SDI in the next 4 years will be impossible."

There is good reason for the senator's fears. The course of the debates in congress shows that an ever increasing number of senators, not to mention congressmen, are taking a realistic approach to SDI. During the discussion the idea was expressed that the components of "star wars" are a "first strike" weapon. Should it be developed now that substantial changes in favor of the policy of disarmament have occurred in Soviet-U.S. relations? Senator Bennett Johnston from Louisiana pointed to the positive results of the recently concluded talks in Wyoming. The majority of the legislators advocate that the SDI program should develop in a research framework. The deployment and testing in space of components of the "star wars" weaponry appears expensive and unrealistic to them. SDI, according to the expression used in the Senate, could become "billions of dollars cast aimlessly into infinity."

However, the congressmen and senators who are against SDI have their opponents. The latter use the following arguments: "SDI is America's might" and a means of "holding talks with the Russians from a position of strength. Having lost the battle in the House, the "star wars" supporters decided to seek revenge in the Senate. To some extent they succeeded. On Tuesday the Senate

voted (by 66 votes to 34), for the allocation of $3.1 billion for SDI, but in the second vote on Thursday decided to increase the appropriations to $4.1 billion. The opinions are being expressed that the total of appropriations has been increased deliberately so as to subsequently arrive at a compromise with the House so that both chambers will eventually agree on $3.1 billion.

Of course, even this is a vast sum at the present stage of work on the strategic defense initiative. However, the trend toward lowering the ceiling of spending on "star wars" is being maintained—Reagan calculated that $5.9 billion would be allocated to SDI in 1990. Only time will tell if this trend is going to prevail, of course. But right now it is working against the "nuclear arrows" and the "space shields."

Further Reportage on Yazov's Completed U.S. Visit

Watches Exercises, Views Force Levels

PM1110082289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the general heading: "Servicemen Work for Trust"]

[Excerpts] Fort Bragg (North Carolina)—A massive airborne assault, target shooting from guns and missile launchers, aircraft bombing attacks, and helicopter flights. American paratroopers demonstrated this selection of combat operations at the Fort Bragg testing ranges for the members of a Soviet delegation. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of the Soviet defense minister, the paratroopers demonstrated supremely coordinated actions and exemplary training. "Every state has without fail to maintain its defense at the appropriate level, but obviously there is a limit to the buildup of military might. If you estimate the present-day combat might of all the armies of the world, there is more than 20 tonnes of explosive for every inhabitant on earth, taking nuclear weapons into account," D.T. Yazov said. "We have proposed that the United States and other NATO states reduce their armed forces to a level where they could only perform exclusively defensive tasks."

The Soviet delegation head stressed that contacts in the military sphere are a factor for increasing mutual understanding between our peoples and will undoubtedly develop.

Says Talks 'Reciprocally Useful'

LD1010141589 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The Soviet defence minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov, who has returned from an official visit to the United States, noted the frank and straightforward character of his meetings and talks there. "Both sides have confirmed their readiness to go on developing contacts and relations in the military sphere," he told TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy today.

General Yazov said his agenda in the United States was very busy and interesting. He had meetings and talks with President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, members of the House Armed Services Committee headed by Les Aspin, and U.S. military commanders.

According to Yazov, "these meetings and talks were reciprocally useful". He added that the sides had discussed a wide range of issues in connection with military aspects of Soviet-American relations, including problems of disarmament. The general said that the steps made by both sides to meet each other halfway gave grounds for hope that the Geneva and Vienna negotiations will make faster headway and produce positive results.

"We explained to the American side", General Yazov said, "the basic principles of the Soviet defensive military doctrine. We showed them how consistently they are being implemented, in theory and in practice, to build up and train the Soviet Armed Forces."

According to the defence minister, this will contribute to a reduction of international tension, to the promotion of mutual understanding and trust in Soviet-American relations, and to the consolidation of universal security and peace.

U.S. Admiral Trost Arrives in USSR on Visit

PM1010155389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Admiral C. Trost, U.S. chief of Naval operations, arrived in Moscow 9 October on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Adm C. Trost and the persons accompanying him were met at the airport by Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister and commander of the Navy, and other officials.

J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, and Brigadier General G. Govan, defense attache at the U.S. Embassy in the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

Adm C. Trost laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall, and paid a visit to Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin.

On the same day, Adm C. Trost left Moscow on a tour of the country.

U.S.-USSR Counterterrorism Efforts Noted

LD1010181889 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—More than 60 Soviet citizens have been killed by terrorists abroad in the past five years, a soviet journalist said at a news conference in the Soviet Peace Committee building today. Igor Belyayev, political observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and anti-terrorism expert, said that most of the victims were civilian technical specialists working in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

He pointed to the need for joint international anti-terrorism efforts and commented on the recent second meeting of a Soviet-U.S. public group against international terrorism in Los Angeles.

The group includes lawyers, political scientists, diplomats and former officers of the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Belyayev said the meeting drew the sides' positions on anti-terrorism activities closer together and that they agreed on joint efforts in a whole number of fields.

The sides agreed to "assist one another in investigating acts of terror against civil airliners, and exchange methods and equipment to detect the latest explosives," the journalist said.

The sides also agreed to jointly prevent the proliferation of transportable surface-to-air missiles on the world's arms black market, and organise the training of specialists of the two countries to deal with acts of terror.

Former KGB Officer Yevgeniy Lyakhov, doctor of legal sciences, said that the activity of the Soviet-U.S. joint group will cover three major areas of anti-terrorism efforts.

These are the prevention of terrorist acts, the shaping of public opinion against terrorists' crimes, and coordination of efforts to prosecute culprits on the basis of international law.

A retired Soviet Foreign Ministry envoy, Valentin Romanov, pointed to the need for an international law to protect the civil population from acts of terror. He said the Soviet Union and the United States should initiate such a law.

Retired Lieutenant-General Fedor Shcherbak, former deputy head of a KGB department, said the cooperation of Soviet and American secret services against international terrorism dates back to World War II.

Now the two countries' services exchange information to ensure the security of visiting statesmen and to investigate some particular incidents.

The KGB helped the U.S. side win the release of a number of U.S. hostages in Lebanon.

FBI Seeks Information on KGB Operations

PM1110155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report from "News In Brief" roundup of PRAVDA-TASS reports: "Wanted—Informers And Spies"]

[Text] Our headline sums up an advertisement that appeared recently in the U.S. paper NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO, which is published in New York in Russian. Anyone who "has information on KGB methods and operations in the USSR and abroad" is asked to share this information with the relevant U.S. department. Above the advertisement there is an official emblem bearing the following inscription: "Ministry of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Laverov Receives U.S. Industrialist Howson

PM0710150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading: "Cooperation Is Developing"]

[Text] N. P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received R.E. Howson, president of the board of McDermott Inc. (United States) 4 October.

Questions of the development of further cooperation between Soviet organizations and McDermott Inc. were discussed.

Latvia Deports U.S. Citizen, Bars Another

PM0610150989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB Reports"]

[Text] Peteris Elferts, a Muenster High School teacher and U.S. citizen, arrived in Riga 29 July 1989 at the invitation of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Creative Unions Culture Council. He failed to register with the Visas and Foreigners Registration Department of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], although the form for an entry visa to the USSR mentioned the necessity of such registration (within 24 hours of arriving at the destination).

During his stay in the republic Elferts traveled repeatedly to Tukumskiy and Rizhskiy Rayons, which are closed to foreign visitors.

On 6 and 7 September this year, while in Saldusskiy Rayon, which is also closed to foreign visitors, Elferts photographed a guarded Defense Ministry installation, as well as the participants in a demonstration being held there with posters insulting the Soviet Army.

On 7 September he was warned by a militia divisional inspector that foreigners are not allowed in the said

Rayon without appropriate permission. Despite the warning, Elferts continued to participate in the demonstration and personally raised a poster directed against the Soviet Army, thus interfering in our country's internal affairs.

Taking account of Peteris Elferts' violations of the law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR" and the "Regulations on the Presence of Foreigners in the USSR," at the Latvian SSR MVD Visas and Foreigners Registration Department on 11 September this year he was told of the curtailment of his stay in the USSR, and entry to the USSR was closed to him for 5 years by the appropriate offices.

The Latvian SSR KGB reports, further to its report of 8 September 1989, that entry to the USSR has also been closed to U.S. citizen Juris Kaza for 5 years.

U.S. Invitation to Polish Leaders, Aid Noted

PM0610153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Invitation Announced"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Oct—The White House announced on Wednesday that President Bush has invited the Polish leaders, President W. Jaruzelski and Council of Ministers Chairman T. Mazowiecki, to pay an official visit to the United States.

At the same time the Administration announced that President Bush has decided to ask Congress to appropriate for Poland in Fiscal 1990 "$200 million as a subsidy for the purpose of stabilization" of the economy.

The allocation of the new aid to Poland is made directly dependent on the signing of an agreement between Poland and the IMF on a program of economic reforms in the country.

Within the next few weeks, the White House has announced, "a presidential mission composed of ranking U.S. officials, leading businessmen, and experts" will be dispatched to Warsaw "to discuss the Polish Government's economic plans with it."

U.S. Plans To Beam TV to Cuba Seen as 'Hostile'

PM0610143089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[P. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "On Someone Else's Screens, Uninvited"]

[Text] November, or perhaps even October of this year—that is the estimated time for the start of television broadcasting to socialist Cuba from U.S. territory.

Washington's "TV-Marti" project is designed to supplement the existing "Radio-Marti" broadcasts, the content of which Havana regards as frankly inflammatory; it also regards the existence of such "voices" on the air as unlawful. Incidentally, in the U.S. Republican Party's program document "Santa Fe-2," the "TV-Marti" plans are linked directly to the future "creation of a democratic regime" in Havana instead of the present Cuban Government.

However, those who are on the other end of the Florida microphones and TV cameras, like the leadership of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), do not regard their work as subversive. They believe that the future Spanish-language television programs, like the current radio broadcasting to Cuban territory, are an entirely normal phenomenon reflecting the peoples' desire for more open communication and for "alternative information." They also cite recent steps by certain socialist countries which have restricted or stopped the jamming of foreign programs on their territory.

But, first, Cuba is a sovereign state which does not imitate other people's decisions, and firmly intends to protest the Spanish-language television broadcasting from the shores of Florida at international bodies. Second, Washington does not even have diplomatic relations with Havana, and, incidentally, it is continuing its economic blockade of the island. In these abnormal conditions attempts to open a dubious one-way channel on the air in Cuba, and furthermore without the relevant sluice gates in the form of American-Cuban accords, leave, you will agree, a distinctly hostile "aftertaste."

However, let us assume that the United States seriously intended to enrich Cuba's news with new, alternative colors and raise the propagandist "iron curtain" over the straits of Florida. But in that case, why persecute their own television companies when they want to tell foreign viewers about what is happening in Cuba? Why boycott in advance the filming and screening of major events in international life whose occurrence, in the Cuban capital, prompts universal interest? Is it not obnoxious that the Washington administration will not allow an American television corporation to make appropriate payments to the organizing committee of the 1991 Pan-American Games in Havana for the right to broadcast the competitions?

If you are fighting for openness, it should not be by double standards or under the slogan of destabilizing the system that exists in someone else's home. Should the creators of "TV-Marti" perhaps give some thought to that?..

USA TODAY Newspaper Now Available in Moscow

LD1010195789 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The joint Soviet-American enterprise "Sovaminko" has begun to distribute the American daily "USA TODAY" in the USSR.

"The newspaper is available for readers the day it is published," deputy director of the enterprise Igor Kondakov told TASS. "We deliver the newspaper to five

Moscow hotels, the U.S. Embassy, a number of enterprises and offices of the capital. The newspaper is sold both for hard currency and roubles."

The distribution of the American newspaper is one of the numerous tasks carried out by the joint venture, established at the end of last year. The enterprise provides various printing and publishing services: It prints advertisements, invitations and visiting-cards and makes souvenirs.

"Sovaminko" has opened offices in Leningrad, Kiev and Riga. In Moscow the enterprise has eight shops, mostly in hotels.

Among its sponsors are the American "Unicorn Investment International" firm, the Moscow "Mir" publishing house and the cooperative "Synthesis".

"Recently we have established an agency for guest performances, which organises the performances of Soviet and foreign actors. Among its new initiatives is a Russian language review of foreign press editions dealing with computers", Kondakov said.

The joint enterprise is now to publish literary works. Before the end of the year the books "parapsychology and contemporary natural science" by Aleksandr Dubrov and Veneamin Pushkin, and "Final Warning: The Legacy of Chernobyl" by Robert Gale and Thomas Houser will be published in the Russian language.

China

More on Anniversary Reception at Embassy in Beijing

PM1010153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch: "To Mark Anniversary"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Oct—A reception to mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the PRC was held at the USSR Embassy here today. It was attended by Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and premier of the PRC State Council.

Speaking at the reception, Tian Zengpei, PRC vice minister of foreign affairs, noted that after the establishment of the PRC, the Soviet Union was the first to recognize the new state and to establish diplomatic relations with it, thereby rendering the new republic tremendous support. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries contributed to the consolidation of the traditional friendship between the two peoples and opened up new prospects for the two countries' cooperation in the defense of socialism.

The meeting between Deng Xiaoping and M.S. Gorbachev in Beijing in May of this year marked the beginning of a new stage in the relations between our countries. We are confident that in firmly pursuing the path which was cleared by the summit meeting, relations between the PRC and the USSR will, without fail, undergo long-term, stable, and healthy development. Cooperation and contacts between the two countries in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and other spheres are developing dynamically and according to plan, the speaker emphasized.

O.A. Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to the PRC, delivered the reply speech at the reception.

The reception was attended by members of the Chinese Government, prominent PRC politicians and public figures, and Soviet embassy staff.

More on Li Peng at USSR Embassy

LD1010224289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] It is the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the PRC. [passage omitted] Comrade Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and premier of the State Council, visited the Soviet embassy in China. A friendly conversation and reception took place. Prospects for the further development of our relations opened by the summit meeting in Beijing last summer were discussed.

PRC Committed to Open-Door Economic Policy

PM0910143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Policy of Developing Links"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Oct—Whatever storms may rage over the country, China wishes to continue to develop mutually beneficial economic, technological, and trade collaboration with all states on the basis of friendship and the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China's doors are open to the whole world, and we do not want to close them, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, stated. He was speaking at an international symposium on questions of the development of China's foreign economic links which has opened here.

According to him, the socialist path of development chosen by the Chinese people, was conditioned by historical factors and the country's realities. However, this does not mean that the current system is ideal. The reforms being carried out at the present time are aimed precisely at improving it, he pointed out. Giving a positive evaluation of the future expansion of the PRC's foreign links, Li Peng noted that the political situation in China is stable.

Soviet, Chinese Experts View Aerial Survey Work

PM0510141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Businesslike Atmosphere"]

[Text] The sixth meeting of experts in the joint aerial survey working group took place 18-28 September in Moscow at the talks between USSR and PRC governmental delegations on border questions.

During the meeting the sides summed up the results of the aerial survey work being carried out by them in 1989 on the Western side of the Soviet-Chinese border, and aerial survey material was exchanged.

I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received both countries' experts.

Northeast Asia

Troop Withdrawal From Mongolia Ahead of Schedule

LD0910192789 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—In line with the decision of the Soviet Government and the agreement with the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, the withdrawal of Soviet military formations and units from Mongolia and other countries, planned for 1989, has been concluded ahead of schedule.

The number of troops deployed in those areas has been cut by 50,320. Also withdrawn have been 3,118 tanks, 768 artillery pieces and 351 combat aircraft.

The withdrawal of Soviet troop formations and units will continue in 1990.

Station Observer on Troop Withdrawal

OW0810063189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] The first phase of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia has been completed. This was announced by Major General (Mayiolov), commander of the Soviet Forces in Mongolia, at an Ulaanbaatar news conference. Two tank divisions and one flight division have left Mongolia. Now, the Soviet forces there are preparing for the second phase of the troop withdrawal.

Our station observer (Alekseyev) says: Three-fourths of the Soviet troops in Mongolia, or about 50,000 troops, should be withdrawn before 1 January 1991. The Soviet Union and Mongolia will discuss the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Mongolia. During his visit to China, Gorbachev emphatically pointed out that the Soviet Union is ready to take such a step. It should be particularly pointed out that the troop withdrawal is not merely a removal of troops from Mongolia; it is part of the Soviet plan to reduce military strength by 500,000 troops, which was announced last December. Of the 500,000 troops to be demobilized, 120,000 are stationed in the Far East. All the troops withdrawn from Mongolia will be demobilized. Other armed forces units are also being reduced in strength. I would like to point out one important thing here; namely, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia is no doubt an important step in eliminating factors of military confrontation between the Soviet Union and China. Our two countries will also take other steps in this regard in the next several months. Soviet and Chinese military experts will discuss relevant questions at their first meeting in November. The Soviet Union is willing to withdraw all its troops and weapons, except some on routine border defense duty, from the border regions.

GDR-Bound Mongolian, DPRK Groups Stop in Moscow

PM0710145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "En Route for Berlin"]

[Text] On 5 October J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic People's Great Hural Presidium, stopped over in Moscow briefly on his way to Berlin to attend the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

The Mongolian guest was met at the airport by A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, other officials, and T. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day a DPRK party and government delegation heading for Berlin to attend the festivities also stopped over in Moscow briefly. The delegation is headed by Yon Hyong-muk, member of Korean Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and premier of the DPRK Administrative Council.

The delegation was met and seen off at the airport by I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, other officials, and Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR.

During a warm and friendly conversation I.S. Belousov and Yon Hyong-muk discussed a number of questions of mutual interest.

Near East & South Asia

Borovik on Invitation to Israel's Peres To Visit

LD1010173189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] As we've already reported the Soviet Peace Committee has invited the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Shimon Peres of Israel to visit the Soviet Union. In view of the contradictory reports circulated by the Western mass media our reporter Boris Markovnikov asked the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee to confirm the information. Genrikh Borovik:

The information is absolutely correct, Genrikh Borovik said. The circumstances surrounding that invitation were the following. A delegation of the Association for Business Cooperation, attached to the Soviet Peace

Committee, visited the United States a few weeks ago. The aim of the Association, set up recently, is to promote contacts between this country and businessmen in the West.

It was in the United States that members of the delegation met Shimon Peres at his request. The Israeli politician came up with several interesting proposals concerning cooperation between the Soviet Union and Israel in the production of medicines, in agriculture, aircraft construction, irrigation, and tourism.

That cooperation is expected to be mutually advantageous, based on the barter principle. Shimon Peres said his proposals were only part of the extensive program of trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union that he had to offer. He said he'd be glad to come to the Soviet Union for the purpose if the Soviet Peace Committee invited him.

Our response to that initiative, Genrikh Borovik continued, was positive and we sent an invitation to Shimon Peres. In doing so we proceeded not only from the fact that trade and economic cooperation would be beneficial to the Soviet Union and would help perestroyka. In our opinion such contacts would also contribute to a political solution of the painful Middle East issue, the Palestinian people's problem above all. Shimon Peres believes, and he told us so, that the Middle East crisis can be solved by political means alone and with the participation of the Soviet Union, said Genrikh Borovik.

When asked about his attitude to such contacts with the state of Israel from the standpoint of a positive resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Genrikh Borovik said this in part:

Genrikh Borovik said contacts with all countries should be intensified, including contacts between ordinary people. As far as diplomatic relations are concerned this is the prerogative of the state and the question should be handled by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Our reporter said that he was interested to hear Genrikh Borovik's personal opinion on the problem as a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a prominent public figure. Genrikh Borovik said in reply that all depended on the concrete situation, on the position of the Israeli Government. If it remained irreconcilable as before in relation toward the Palestinians and the occupied Arab territories, that was one thing, but if it was prepared to take steps toward bringing about a political solution of the question with the Soviet Union's participation, that would change the situation. The question of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel should be solved accordingly, Genrikh Borovik said in conclusion.

Commentary Previews Israeli Foreign Minister Visit

LD1110131489 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] The Israeli deputy prime minister, Shim'on Peres, has been invited to the Soviet Union by the Soviet Peace Committee. Here is a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin:

Though Mr Peres will be received by a public organization, he may be expected to have official contacts in Moscow. He may meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze. Less than a fortnight ago Shevardnadze met in New York with the Israeli Foreign Minister, Moshe Arens. That means that the Soviet Government is establishing contacts with the Israeli Government more actively than before. This is made imperative by the acute crisis in the Middle East and an urgent need to settle it. It is clear that a normalization would be impossible without Israel and without other sides involved in the conflict.

The Soviet Union insists on an international conference to achieve a comprehensive and final settlement. The first step could be taken by holding consultations between the five permanent members of the Security Council. There may be other preliminary measures. But attempts to ignore the Palestine Liberation Organization are incompatible with any settlement plan. So far Israel has refused to recognize that objective reality.

More Soviet-Israeli contacts are also being made in other fields. The countries have exchanged consulates, have allowed economic links on a nongovernmental basis and cultural exchanges. It should be remembered that the political dialogue and contacts in other fields are widening between the Soviet Union and Israel in the absence of diplomatic relations. Tel Aviv has repeatedly expressed its wish to resume them and even complained about Soviet toughness in that respect. But the Soviet Union has more than once said the situation was unnatural. Still, the resumption of diplomatic links should go hand in hand with a Middle East settlement, more specifically with the convening of an internationl conference.

Thus, concludes Aleksandr Pogodin, Israel's negative position on that issue hampers not only a regional settlement but also normalization with the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Adviser on 'Improving' Ties With Israel

TA0710133889 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Vadim Zagladin, an adviser to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on foreign affairs, said that relations between the USSR and Israel are improving, and pointed out as an example Shim'on Peres' invitation to Moscow and the contacts between social organizations in both countries.

In an interview with our correspondent Gid'on Kouts, Zagladin confirmed that meetings are taking place on establishing direct flights between Tel Aviv and Moscow.

He added that Moscow is worried by the increasing activity of anti-Semitic elements in the Soviet Union.

PLO Official Interviewed on Bilateral Relations

LD1010212889 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Soviet-Israeli relations are today one of the main topics in the Western and Arab press. We cannot say that all the articles support the moves which the Soviet Union is making to establish a constructive dialogue with Israel. Some journalists have been alleging in the past weeks that the dialogue with Israel amounts to almost a betrayal of the Arabs—and primarily the Palestinians—by the Soviet Union. There have been diverging reactions to the proposal put forward by the Soviet Foreign Minister in New York on the holding of an Israeli-Palestinian meeting in Moscow.

Our correspondent conducted an interview with Bassam Abu Sharif, the political adviser to the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, during his visit to the Soviet Union. He asked him to express his views on this subject:

[Begin Abu Sharif recording] With regard to the proposal put forward by Comrade Shevardnadze, or Comrade Shevardnadze's idea, there has already been an official reaction from brother Abu Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas]. Brother Abu Mazin has welcomed the proposal [words indistinct]. The discussion covered all the main points linked to the peace process either with regard to the situation in the occupied territories and the PLO's stand, or the situation in the occupied territories and the stand of the Israeli Government. Also considered were actions that can be taken to maintain the momentum of the peace process and avoid taking matters in the Middle East to an impasse. In fact, without elaborating on the issue of a balance of interests, the interests are undoubtedly an essential issue in the policies drawn up by the states. Every state defends its interests. Of course, there are states which adhere to just and human general principles, and the Soviet Union is one of them. The Soviet Union adheres to these principles and does not abandon them regardless of the interests involved. To illustrate that, it is impossible for the Soviet Union to stand against the right of peoples to self-determination. The Soviet Union cannot support the colonization of any country. These are issues of principles which the Soviet Union upholds, whereas other states are prepared to even occupy and invade, as was the case in Grenada. These aspects on principles are important.

We Palestinians see our relationship with the Soviet Union as based essentially on these principles, for the Soviet Union has no interests in our country because we do not yet have a country. The relationship of the Soviet Union with the PLO is a political relationship with a political organization which leads to the Palestinian people. It is a relationship between the Soviet Union and its principles based on backing the right of people to self-determination and to national independence and their right to express and find concrete forms which they—as peoples—see suitable to (?exercise) their right to self-determination.

The Soviet Union has taken a clear stand, namely that it supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and, their right to establish an independent state. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has officially recognized the state which we proclaimed on 15 November of last year. However, if we want to talk about the Middle East as a whole, it is a (?source) of interests. It is important for the Soviet Union—and it must be important for it—for instance, to enter the field of commercial competition and try to build factories in this area or that or this country or that. Of course, the Soviet Union, which like any state which wants to export its products, increase its revenues and so on, also has the right to do so. [end recording]

Further on Abu Sharif Interview

LD1010200989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Interview with PLO "Political Adviser" Bassam Abu Sharif by Correspondent Aliyev Ivanov; date, place not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Ivanov] How would the PLO describe the capabilities of the Israeli proponents of peace to press on for a settlement in the Middle East?

[Abu Sharif] There is no doubt that the forces of peace in Israel are gradually increasing in quantity and in quality. However, we should not delude ourselves as the size of these forces remains, in relation to other forces, small. But the small size of these forces does not mean that they have no political importance. They do have a great political importance. Such forces stand by the side of the movement of history, by the side of the overall international public opinion and by the side of a just solution in the Middle East.

Moreover, a conflict has emerged in the recent period of time even within the Israeli Government. The conflict is between the Likud and the Labor Party. This conflict was demonstrated recently through the stand vis-a-vis President Husni Mubarak's (?10 point plan), rather the 10 Egyptian requests for clarification. I believe that everybody knows that the vote was six for and six against. In other words the Likud ministers voted against and the Labor ministers voted for. This takes the political conflict within the Israeli coalition government to such a high degree that one of the two sides must make a decision in this respect.

We have already said, and we say it in front of you all, let the Labor Party come forward. If it really wants peace, let it come forward and sit with a delegation from the PLO to open negotiations on ways to establish peace in the Middle East.

[Ivanov] Do you think that this discord will bring down the Shamir government?

[Abu Sharif] I cannot forecast the decision of the Labor Party. This will depend on the Labor Party decision. I cannot say or claim that I know the power play inside the Labor Party with accuracy. However, we can (?verify) that. We challenge the Labor Party. If it really wants peace let it come forward. It can form another government with a new coalition. It can form a government with the other groups, including Rakah, to move step by step toward peace.

We are prepared, and without preconditions, to meet a delegation of Labor Party ministers now.

Shevardnadze, Baker Mideast Plans Urge Compromise

TA1010182189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Aleksandr Kushnir announcer-read commentary]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said on Sunday that there is a chance that progress could be made in the Middle East peace process although Israel rejected the Egyptian proposal on direct negotiations with the Palestinians. Baker added that he spoke on the telephone with 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid and Moshe Arens, the Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers, soon after the Inner Cabinet in Jerusalem rejected the proposal for convening Israeli and Palestinian delegations for negotiations in Cairo. In my view, Secretary Baker said, there is still a chance that the election plan proposed by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir will be implemented. Baker said Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's proposal is, in fact, an attempt to make progress in the Israeli initiative for elections in the territories.

In fact, our political correspondent Aleksandr Kushnir writes, the U.S. secretary of state apparently wants to extricate the Middle East peace process from the stalemate it has been bogged down in for some time.

It is true that James Baker is now addressing the election plan for the occupied territories on the basis of Yitzhaq Shamir's political initiative and President Mubarak's 10 points. It seems that by referring to the Israeli and Egyptian proposals on an equal footing, he wants to show that any progress toward peace is possible only on the basis of a compromise. That is correct, but we must remind our listeners that a proposal in that spirit had earlier been raised by the USSR, too. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said after his New York talk with his Israeli counterpart Moshe Arens that the USSR calls on Israel to enter direct negotiations with the PLO. The USSR is prepared to organize such a meeting in Moscow. It is certainly clear to us, Aleksandr Kushnir writes, that if such a meeting takes place, it would be a realistic move in the direction of Middle East peace since Israel and the Palestinians are the main elements in the regional conflict and since no other element in the world can solve their problems for them.

We in the USSR understand that there are significant differences between the two involved elements to the conflict over the outcome and framework for a settlement. We also understand that there are differences over the issue of the international conference, its composition and powers. Nevertheless, we must not forget that in a settlement of the Middle East conflict there is no alternative to the political path. Giving up the policy of force and realistic searches for peace within the framework of a representative international conference is what is needed, Aleksandr Kushnir writes. It seems to us that in the Middle East, the time has come to change the routine of the old way of thinking—to abandon the policy of violence, which has become bankrupt—and to adopt a new policy of good-neighborliness and cooperation between nations and people.

The Soviet (?concept) appreciates the U.S. Administration's efforts in the Middle East. I would not be exaggerating, Aleksandr Kushnir writes, if I say that Soviet public circles are taking deep interest in the report that James Baker invited Moshe Arens and 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the representatives of Egypt and Israel, to Washington. We would be happy if the U.S. secretary of state succeeds in convincing Israel to sit at the negotiating table with the Palestinians on the basis of the Mubarak plan. The Soviet public is ready to receive Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, who was invited to visit the USSR by the Soviet Peace Committee.

Azerbaijan, Iran Discuss Trade, Sign Agreement

Azerbaijan, Iran Sign Trade Protocol

LD1010084189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0805 GMT 10 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A protocol on direct links and on economic and commercial cooperation between Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran was signed in Baku today following talks between representatives of Iranian business circles and of Azerbayjani enterprises and foreign trade organizations. The protocol provides for a reciprocal exchange of goods which are in mass demand according to a list agreed by both countries. Shops selling Iranian goods will open in Baku, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and in a number of other Azerbaijani towns and rayons.

'Exclusive' Trade Exhibition Held

LD0210235889 Tehran IRNA in English 1620 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Baku, Oct. 2, IRNA— Iran's first ever exclusive trade exhibition in Muslim populated Soviet Azerbaijan opened here Monday with a variety of goods on display, ranging from traditional handicrafts and handwoven carpets to electrical appliances and textiles.

Also on display are construction equipment and dried fruits.

Present at the inauguration ceremony was Iran's Deputy Commerce Minister Hasan Kamehkhush and a Majlis deputy, along with Council of Ministers chairman and commerce minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Niyaz Mutalibov and Mr. Baqarov respectively.

Speaking at a televised conference before the inauguration of the exhibit, Kamehkhush said the volume of trade exchanges between the two countries stood at dlrs 300 million in 1988 with Iran exporting dlrs 77 mn in non-oil goods and dlrs 43 mn worth of oil to its northern neighbour.

Soviet Azerbaijan shares many similarities with Iran's West and East Azarbayjan Provinces, and he added that the Islamic Republic of Iran attaches great importance to the expansion of trade ties between Iranian and Soviet bordering provinces.

Azerbaijan Premier Holds Talks

LD0410211389 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The prime minister of Soviet Azerbaijan met today with our country's deputy minister of foreign trade in Baku and called for the expansion of scientific and cultural cooperation, the setting up of joint factories, exchanges of goods, the transfer of technology and technical know-how, as well as research into the reasons for the pollution of the waters of the Caspian Sea in cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

YAR Armed Forces Political Delegation Visits

PM1110085589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of political workers from the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] Armed Forces headed by Lieutenant Colonel Yahya Muhammad al-Qibsi, chief of the YAR Armed Forces Main Political and Moral Orientation Directorate Culture and Orientation Directorate, was in the Soviet Union 30 September-7 October at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation of political workers from the YAR Armed Forces was received by Colonel General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation members were briefed on the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's work experience in organizing political education work in the Soviet Armed Forces at the stage of perestroyka, and visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. They met the academy's leadership and Yemeni students and were briefed on the study process and its material base.

The YAR guests visited the Belorussian Military District. They were briefed on the study process, life, and routine of students at the Minsk Combined Arms Higher Military-Political School, and visited a number of units in the district.

The delegation members laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall, and toured the sights of Moscow and Minsk.

Supreme Soviet, YAR President Exchange Greetings

LD1110110389 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—An exchange of telegrams has taken place between the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Yemen Arab Republic.

The telegram of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet says that the conclusion of the treaty gave an impulse to the further development of the tradition of friendliness and constructive interaction between the two nations that had first taken shape 60 years ago.

The Soviet telegram expresses confidence that the relations of friendship and mutual benefit between the Soviet Union and the Yemen Arab Republic will keep expanding in future.

The telegram, signed by President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic and addressed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, notes that the treaty opened up new horizons for the development of close cooperation, deepened and strengthened historical friendly relations.

Sub-Sahran Africa

Moscow Said To Supply Chemical Arms to Angola

AU0610181089 Paris AFP in English 1747 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Brussels, Oct 6 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has supplied a new type of chemical weapon to Angola that leaves its victims blind and paralyzed, in violation of international agreements, a Belgian specialist said Friday.

Professor Aubin Heydrick of the toxicology department at the University of Ghent, said the new weapon was a firebomb which also released a toxic chemical that turns those of its victims it does not kill into human vegetables. [sentence as received]

He said Angolan government forces and their Cuban allies were using it against rebels of the U.S.-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

(UNITA), which has been waging a guerrilla war against Angola's Marxist government since the former Portuguese colony attained independence in 1975.

Prof. Heydrick, who discussed the arms with Soviet officials in Moscow last weekend, said the Soviet Union, "visibly very embarrassed", was arguing that the bomb was not designed as a chemical weapon.

The officials told him that the bombs emitted a toxic cloud because they happened to contain a substance that produced cyanide when burned. The substance had not been included deliberately, they said.

The professor, who was invited to Moscow by the Kremlin, said Soviet officials had given him the formula of the toxic substance.

The bomb is unknown to experts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Prof. Heydrick has sent photographs and video film of the weapon's victims, and bomb fragments apparently bearing Russian markings, to the United Nations. He has visited UNITA-controlled territory several times, accompanied by French and Belgian doctors.

He said an unknown number of people had been killed by the new weapon, which he claimed was first used against UNITA forces in April. "But 400 to 500 people survived, only to be condemned to the horrors of life as a vegetable, stricken with blindness, incontinence and paralysis," he said.

In January, the Soviet Union announced that it would start eliminating its stockpiles of chemical weapons this year at an international conference in Paris which condemned the use of such weapons. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze pledged to curb their use in an address to the United Nations General Assembly 10 days ago.

Scientist Contradicts Earlier Allegation

LD0910221489 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Soviet colleagues have invited Belgian Professor Aubin Heydrick over to Moscow with clean conscience since they knew for sure that the USSR did not supply its chemical weapons to anyone.

In former times Moscow would probably have dismissed as so much anti-communist propaganda Heydrick's repeated charges alleging the Angolan Army and its Cuban allies were using against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] certain unknown poisonous agents of Soviet make.

But in this period of new political thinking it was decided not to go for propaganda effects ourselves but to clarify what was also of concern to us and, as it seemed to us, of concern to the professor, namely, the reason for the death of many Angolans of intoxication with previously unknown symptoms.

That is why Heydrick, who leads the toxicology laboratory of Ghent University was given an opportunity to come to Moscow and meet with Soviet specialists. As the professor himself admitted in an interview upon his return to Belgium, he was received "very openheartedly".

"The Belgian scientist brought a report on the use of the weapons of interest to him, in Angola," Nikita Smidovich from the Department on Arms Limitations and Disarmament of the USSR Foreign Ministry who participated in talks with Heydrick, told me.

"We said chemical weapons have not been used in Angola and the Belgian admitted that the documents cited in his report do not agree with the well-known symptoms caused by combat poisonous agents and so do not prove the fact of their utilisation in Angola".

For his part Heydrick offered a version that the toxic effect observed in Angola could be caused by cyanides. He agreed, however, that manufacturing chemical weapons on the basis of such combinations was practically impossible.

"We also discussed his hypothesis of toxic effect being caused by cyanides as a result of the use of incendiary weapons, Smidovich said. Without rejecting it the Soviet side insisted that the hypothesis required careful study".

"Besides such weapons were not chemical and consequently were not banned either by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 or by the Paris provisions on chemical weapons, of violating which they had already accused us with the help of Heydrick".

In an interview with the FRANCE PRESSE NEWS AGENCY Heydrick alleged that the Soviet weapons used in Angola "combine the characteristics of incendiary weapons and combat poisonous agents" and are "chemical means by their purpose".

It is very regrettable Smidovich said, that the statements made by the Belgian scientist in Brussels disagree with what he said in Moscow.

East Europe

PRAVDA on 'Unsanctioned Demonstrations' in GDR

PM1010204489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch: "'Problems Cannot Be Resolved on the Street'"]

[Text] Berlin, 10 Oct—Unsanctioned demonstrations took place during the evening hours of 7 October in a number of GDR cities, including Berlin. "With the support of the population calm and order were

restored," the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes today. The security forces arrested dozens of people—mainly young people. This same issue of the newspaper carries on two pages reprints from bezirk newspapers, as well as statements by citizens condemning such actions. "I am indignant at the actions of those involved in the disturbances, who tried through their actions to incline the public against our republic. And yet precisely our party and government have done a very great deal for young people," Gerhard Schierhorn writes from Magdeburg.

Professor Hans-Juergen Jacobs, rector of Dresden Technical University, emphasizes that he "rejects in principle the noisy gatherings, criminal violence, and hooligan sallies carried out under cover of the 'defense of reforms' slogan." "Problems cannot be resolved on the street," the professor believes, "because assiduous and, of course, not always pleasant work is essential for a dialogue on the topic of our society's renewal and further development."

Describing the disturbances in Berlin, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND correspondents cite statements by Colonel Dietze, deputy police chief: "This provocation was inspired from outside. The West Berlin radio and television stations were mixed up in it. Balloons were even sent over with inflammatory leaflets, as at the height of the 'cold war.'"

Many statements carried in the newspaper voice resolute support for the government's measures aimed at restoring order.

At the same time the situation remains uneasy. A demonstration took place once again in Leipzig yesterday, in which approximately 70,000 people participated, according to preliminary data.

Moscow Radio Cites GDR Paper on Demonstrations

LD1010214589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] In some towns in the GDR over the last few days demonstrations have taken place. Our correspondent Aleksandr Zubenko reports from Berlin:

[Zubenko] The central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has printed a selection of articles and letters from working people devoted to these events. The paper notes that in the evening hours of 7 October, in a number of towns in the GDR, including Berlin, during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the German socialist state, demonstrations took place which disrupted order and security. The demonstrations were contained by the forces of the State Security Committee. Dozens of people, mostly young people, were arrested.

The meetings and actions which most people were involved in took place on 7, 8 and 9 October in Dresden, Leipzig and Karl Marx Stadt. The spectrum of the demonstrators' demands was extremely broad, ranging fromn slogans demanding democratic reforms to calls to make short work of the Communists. Many of them were armed with truncheons, iron bars and stones. A great deal of material damage was inflicted by the demonstrators. In Dresden station alone, for example, M126,000 worth of damage was done. In the opinion of the deputy police chairman, Colonel Dietzer, this provocation was inspired from outside. Dietzer believes that West Berlin radio and television stations are involved in this: I am indignant at the actions of those who caused the disorders and tried by their actions to turn the public against our republic. It is precisely our party and government that has done a very great deal for young people, writes Gerhardt Scherhohn from Magdeburg in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

I shall not quote other excerpts from other letters from GDR citizens published in the SED Central Committee organ, but in principle they are similar to Gerhardt Scherhohn's view. In many of the pronouncements, indeed, resolute support is expressed for the government measures to put an end to the demonstrations and enforce law and order. Moreover, the situation in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin and some other towns in the GDR continues to remain unsettled.

ADN Cited on Berlin 'Hooligans,' Disturbances

LD0810152389 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin 8/10/TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Berlin (ADN)—A statement released here on Sunday reported disturbances of festivities on the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

"In the evening of October 7, hooligans tried to disturb street festivals marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR," the statement said.

It went on "in cooperation with western media, they formed a riotous assembly in and around (central Berlin) Alexanderplatz Square chanting anti-state slogans."

Only through the level-headedness of the security forces and of those taking part in street festivals was it possible to prevent the intended provocations deverloping,' the statement went on, adding "the instigators were detained."

FRG Inciting GDR Citizens 'Against Socialism'

AU0610202689 Moscow Radio in Romanian to Romania 1700 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Correspondence from Berlin by Anatoliy (Stupkin) on 40th anniversary of the GDR]

[Excerpts] On 6 October, the working people of the GDR celebrate the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the

republic. [passage omitted] The GDR is vigorously developing its economy, agriculture, science, and culture, and is actively struggling for peace and cooperation among peoples. [passage omitted]

Not long ago, the governments of the capitalist countries did not recognize the socialist state—the GDR—and tried to discriminate against it by all means. However, victory has had its say. At this point, the successes achieved by the GDR are obvious in all areas. [passage omitted]

Located at the western border of the community of socialist countries, the GDR is the target of attacks on the part of the adversaries of the socialist countries. [passage omitted]

For example, making use of television and other mass media, the FRG is trying to incite the population of the GDR against socialism. This has been particularly obvious in the past weeks.

Despite the harmful influence from the West, the absolute majority of the population supports socialism and is making its contribution to the development of the economy, science, culture, and art. The successes achieved by the GDR in the economy are known throughout the world. [passage omitted]

Attempts to 'Destabilize' GDR Criticized

LD0910142289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Commentary on GDR 40th anniversary by political observer Viktor Glazunov—recorded]

[Text] A jubilee always gives food for thought about the path covered, and about the present and the future. Forty years is a short time in history, but it's long enough to draw this conclusion: The first German socialist state has withstood the test of time. To rise from ruins and to become one of the 10 most highly industrialized nations of the world is certainly an achievement for this comparitively small country with a population of 17 million. This is an achievement that obscures the difficulties and the losses sustained.

The Republic still faces difficulties and problems. Socialism is now at a stage of development when it needs a second wind, as Mikhail Gorbachev put it. Continuity and renewal are the essence of the process, which cannot proceed smoothly without conflicts. There are resentful people in any society, including in the one of the German Democratic Republic. But it's wishful thinking to speak of a crisis of the whole system on the basis of the fact that in the past few weeks 30,000 persons have moved from the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany and that there have been some protest demonstrations. But I think it's clear to realize why all these actions have been timed for the jubilee. An old course can be traced here to destabilize the German Democratic Republic, a course that has been followed since the very few days of the republic's existence, a course that has caused several critical situations on the continent.

In this connection I would like to make a general remark of principle. Without idealizing the order that has shaped in Europe one ought to admit that it ensures peace on the continent. Each time the West banked on recarving the post-war map of Europe, that led to international tension rising another time. On the contrary when a course was followed stemming from respect for the territorial and political realities major positive results were gained.

It is a fact that treaties on normalizing relations between West Germany and the socialist countries, including the GDR, paved the way for an all-European process to ensure security and cooperation, the so-called Helsinki process. It's only along this way that the East and the West can get closer together when all the walls of hostility, alienation, and distrust between European nations fall.

From this angle all attempts to destabilize the German Democratic Republic can have only negative consequences.

Zagladin Views GDR Events, Expresses 'Anxiety'

PM1110105489 Paris LE MONDE in French 8-9 Oct 89 p 3

["A.J." report: "The Whole World Is Changing"]

[Text] The members of the Soviet delegation now visiting France for the Dialogue '89 meeting who met with journalists on the evening of Thursday 6 October were naturally questioned about the crisis in the GDR and the frantic exodus of refugees who are leaving in their tens of thousands.

Vadim Zagladin, adviser to Mr Gorbachev, spoke first of "the pain" which this sight causes him, expressed his "wish to understand," and expressed anxiety about the risks of "destabilization." This last subject was taken up by Mr Portugalov, an expert on German questions, but he went further. He said he is convinced that "perestroyka will spread to all the socialist countries in one form or another and at varying speeds." And for good measure, he added: "Borders will be opened, so will doors and windows, this is the only way of building the 'common European home'."

Had we understood correctly? This is not exactly what is being said in East Berlin, not to mention Bucharest. Asked to clarify things, Mr Zagladin went even further: "The whole world is changing," he said, "and not just as a result of the will of the people...who are often conservative. But necessity is making change essential.... Everybody is changing at different rates, in their own way, but everything will change.... That includes Romania."

This cannot fail to please not only Mr Honecker, but more especially Mr Ceausescu, the infallible Romanian leader—can it?

Portugalov's 'Bitter Feelings' on GDR Crisis

PM1110113689 Paris LIBERATION in French 7-8 Oct 89 pp 4-5

["P.H." report: "Perestroyka Will Affect All the European Socialist Countries"]

[Text] A Soviet official expressed concern yesterday over the lack of democratization in the GDR, but ruled out any interference by Moscow to force that country to change. This kind of criticism of East Berlin has rarely been expressed so clearly by a leadership member, and Gorbachev could not afford to express such criticism publicly during his visit to the GDR. But these criticisms were immediately accompanied by a warning to the Western countries not to try to exploit this "fraternal country's" current problems.

It was in Paris, far from Moscow and East Berlin, that Nikolay Portugalov, CPSU Central Committee expert on German questions, made these comments in a press conference at the end of the visit to France by 320 prominent Soviets. Like Vadim Zagladin, adviser to Gorbachev, he expressed "bitter feelings" about the pictures of young East Germans fleeing their country.

"What is happening between the two German states is a very serious and abnormal situation which threatens stability," he said, expressing the view that "there are shortcomings on both sides." But, he added, "we have decided not to interfere" in the GDR's affairs, commenting ironically on the fact that the USSR has long been criticized for interfering in the affairs of East European countries. "Acting from outside would be counterproductive," he said.

However, the Central Committee expert said that "perestroyka will affect all the European socialist countries in one way or another and at different speeds." "I mean all," he added, in reply to a question relating to the GDR, Romania, and Bulgaria.

In the same breath, he expressed his "concern" about the "threats of destabilization" contained in the present crisis, criticizing Bonn and the FRG mass media which he accused of "distorting the situation and giving the impression of panic just before the doors close."

In an interview to LIBERATION, Andrey Grachev, another Central Committee expert, criticized the "exploitation by certain circles and sections of the media in the West" of the present crisis in the GDR, coinciding with that country's 40th anniversary, which is "no accident." "If, as I suspect, there is an attempt to overdramatize the GDR's problems and make them more visible and critical, this is an approach which has many worrying aspects."

In particular, he condemned attempts to "whip up German nationalism," and to "bring about a 'forced solution' to the problem of German reunification." This situation "contains the seeds of dangerous destabilization in relations between the two Germanies." Andrey Grachev warned against "any effort to deny" the postwar "political realities" in Europe. In other words, leave us to reform in peace!

Premier Stoph Comments on GDR Anniversary

PM0610112189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers,: "October 7 Marks the 40th Anniversary of the GDR's Formation. Stability and Dynamism"]

[Text] Berlin—Our people and their friends abroad are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the GDR's formation. In this time the first German socialist state has won supreme international prestige, and its peace-loving policy enjoys universal recognition. It has a strong, modern economy and well-developed science and culture, with a highly effective educational and public health system. It provides everyone with a tremendous opportunity to exercise their talents and capabilities and provides them with social security. These positive results are convincing proof of the vital strength of the socialist social system.

The formation of the GDR was a response to the imperialists' division of the country through the creation of the FRG. The emergence of our worker-peasant state represented a turning point in the history of the German people and the peoples of Europe. There was for the first time a state on German soil which would no longer threaten other peoples with war and would not foster hatred toward them, but would bring peace and mutual understanding. Under the leadership of the working people's Marxist-Leninist party, the universal laws of socialist building were creatively applied to the GDR's specific conditions. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], together with the bloc of antifascist democratic parties within the National Front, created a broad alliance that united citizens of various social origins, beliefs, and philosophies in building a new society.

The path traveled by the GDR in these 40 years is characterized by continuity and renewal. At first transformations and reforms were implemented which brought about revolutionary changes. By way of examples I can cite the agrarian reform which handed over the junkers' and landowners' land to agricultural workers and small peasant landowners, the transfer of Nazi war criminals' enterprises to public ownership, and last, the school reform which did away with ruling class privileges in education. The future building of a developed socialist society, proclaimed at the Eighth SED Congress in 1971 as an historical process of profound political, economic, social, and spiritual cultural transformations, must also seen in the same vein. We preserve everything that proves its worth, restore order where necessary, and reject everything that impedes our progress. The GDR has no need of imperialist advisers, fighting for reforms which are effectively designed to restore capitalism in our country. The GDR is advancing and operating in the

interests of strengthening socialism, whose advantages and achievements benefit the entire people.

The SED's course of ensuring unity in economic and social policy promotes stable and dynamic economic growth, which in turn serves as the precondition for the systematic improvement of our citizens' life and work. Special attention is devoted to the socialist intensification of production and the extensive application of modern key technologies with a view to rapidly boosting labor productivity.

We have adapted the well-tried system of a socialist planned economy to changing conditions and are at the same time developing socialist democracy in order to release the creative energy of the masses. This will be our main concern in the course of the preparations for the 12th SED Congress, which is scheduled for next year.

The close fraternal alliance with the country of Lenin and its Communist Party over these 40 years has served as a reliable foundation for our successful progress. Our state's jubilee will once again give us a reason to honor the memory of the 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet Union who also gave their lives to liberate our people from the Hitlerite tyranny.

We regard our friendship with the Soviet Union as a historic achievement. All attempts to smash it have hitherto failed. They will continue to be doomed to failure. The communists and all the people of the GDR realize the tremendous significance of the course of restructuring and renewing Soviet society for strengthening socialism and preserving peace throughout the world. They support the CPSU's policy enshrined in the decisions of the 27th Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and wish Soviet Communists and all the working people in the Soviet land great successes in implementing their plans.

The scale, intensity, and multifaceted nature of the relations between the GDR and the USSR have no parallel in the world. They are notable for their supreme mutual trust, fraternal solidarity, and equality and are based on community of views on fundamental questions of foreign policy and socialist building. Our fraternal alliance is based on the firm foundation of international legal treaties, in particular the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. It is of historic significance for the sovereignty and independence of our country and for further deepening the fruitful collaboration between our countries' peoples.

The recent meeting between Comrades E. Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev opened up a new phase in our relations. The full implementation of the accords secured in the course of the meeting is at the center of our attention.

GDR-USSR economic and scientific-technical cooperation has assumed a large scale. The Soviet Union is our major trading partner—it has a 40-percent share of GDR foreign trade. In turn our country, which has an 11-percent share of USSR commodity turnover, is also the USSR's largest foreign trading partner.

The concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation through the year 2000 coordinated the main directions for the division of labor between our countries. We devote special attention to the joint development and effective use of progressive technologies of crucial significance for securing further production intensification and boosting labor productivity in our countries.

New forms and methods of bilateral cooperation have assumed great significance. GDR and Soviet combines, enterprises, and scientific-technical establishments will make increasingly full and effective use in the future of the opportunities provided by direct ties.

I must also mention the successful development of cooperation in the spheres of culture, education, and tourism. Millions of people are given the opportunity to familiarize themselves with cultural life in each other's country. The impending GDR Culture Days in the USSR will help Soviet people learn more about us.

Europe is now experiencing the longest period of peace this century. The 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II gave us another occasion to confirm that war must never again originate from German soil. This precept has determined the GDR's policy since the day it was formed. In close unity with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states the GDR has been and remains a bastion of peace and security at the center of the European continent.

Over these decades peace in Europe has often hung by a thread, as "cold war" threatened to become "hot war." Imperialism made frequent attempts to reverse the wheel of time and eliminate socialism on German soil. However, all these attempts were defeated—the same fate awaits them in the future.

Collaboration among socialist countries serves as a crucial factor in strengthening socialism and ensuring peace throughout the world. That is why the GDR attaches paramount importance to further deepening cooperation with the fraternal socialist states. The diversity of the forms and means of building socialism enhances the significance of comradely exchanges of opinions and experience. There is no let-up in our efforts to boost the effectiveness of our cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

We resolutely support the current turn from confrontation to detente in international relations. At the same time, those Western politicians who continue to uphold the positions of "nuclear deterrence" and who hope to achieve military superiority are increasing their activity, interfering more blatantly than ever before in socialist countries' internal affairs, and exerting political, ideological, and economic pressure on them.

Proving oneself through class struggle involves supporting historical progress and upholding socialism. Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the forces of reason and realism, the GDR is continuing to actively advocate detente, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence for the peoples. It consistently supports the Soviet Union's proposals, put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, to preserve peace and achieve disarmament. Located on the sensitive dividing line in Europe between the major military groupings, the GDR facilitates the implementation of the Warsaw Pact states' peaceful strategy through its active policy. It submits its own peace initiatives and also takes part in joint initiatives to ensure that the disarmament process is continuous.

Our country consistently implements a policy of dialogue with capitalist states. It favors good-neighborly relations with the FRG. The treaties and agreements concluded between the two German states, along with the universally recognized principles of international law, form the basis of these relations. The GDR and the FRG, as stressed in the joint communique signed on E. Honecker's visit to Bonn in September 1987, must make special efforts to ensure their peaceful coexistence on our continent.

There are some people in the FRG who dislike the GDR's political stability and economic dynamism. Hence the baiting and the slander, the constant attempts at interference, and the provocations.

The GDR resolutely opposes revanchism, neo-Nazism, the FRG's claim to be the "home of all Germans," and the ridiculous appeals to restore Germany within its 1937 borders.

The most important precept for the socialist German state has been and is its friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Our parties' well-tried combat alliance is an earnest example of the successful resolution of our tasks of further building a developed socialist society and preserving world peace.

In alliance and fraternal solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist states our republic will do everything in its power to ensure that socialism builds up its strength, becomes more effective and attractive, and increases its peaceful potential.

General Kessler Writes on GDR Anniversary

PM1010150189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense: "For the Common Cause"]

[Text] October 7, 1949 is a historic date which marks a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. It marked the foundation of the GDR. Today, 4 decades on, our people and their Army look back with legitimate pride at the path traveled by the socialist German state. It has been a path of stable and dynamic development in all social spheres, and, at the same time, it has been a path of considerable tests of socialism's firmness and vitality here in central Europe. In the jubilee edition of EINHEIT, the theoretical journal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Erich Honecker described the exceptional importance of this date and the 40 subsequent years as follows: "An enormous amount of creative work was done on the ruins left by World War II together with the people, through the efforts of the people, and for the benefit of the people under SED leadership. In the process of the revolutionary transformation of all life—which encompasses antifascist democratic changes, the creation of the foundations of socialism, and the subsequent building of a developed socialist society—people's lives have changed for the better more than they ever did in the past. Peace and friendship among the peoples have been permanently enshrined in our country." And indeed, the impressive results of the 4 decades of the GDR's existence are indicated by facts such as its inclusion among the most developed industrial countries; its all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, not least within the framework of the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact; its membership of the United Nations and its active work in the most varied international organizations and institutions to promote the peaceful coexistence of the peoples; its maintenance of diplomatic relations with 135 states; the development of modern agriculture and food production; the flourishing scientific and cultural sectors; the comradely cooperation between the SED and four other parties and eight mass organizations within the framework of the GDR National Front; the high level of social welfare and protection for the population, which finds expression in full employment and the substantial efforts aimed at resolving the housing question as a social problem, in identical educational opportunities for all, and in stable prices for prime necessities, housing, and services; and the creation of a defense system for the country which is in line with present-day demands.

The existence of a socialist German state and its steady development are stabilizing and positive elements in Europe's postwar development. We consider it important to remember this now in 1989 for another reason, too: World War I started 75 years ago, World War II started 50 years ago, and both were started by German imperialism.

When the fascist Wehrmacht and the imperialist "great German Reich" were routed by the Soviet Union and its allies in May 1945, German Communists, honest social democrats, and other antifascists stated their common desire—that fascism and war should never recur! That the political and organizational split in the workers' movement be overcome! They demanded the complete elimination in the four occupied zones of the causes which led to Hitlerite Germany becoming the starting point for World War II, and called for war criminals to be punished, for monopolists and landowners to have

their property expropriated, and for an antifascist and democratic system to be built as envisaged by the Potsdam Agreement. However, this historically necessary democratic revolution was profoundly and consistently implemented only in the Soviet occupation zone.

The Western occupying powers, in league with the emerging West German monopoly capitalists, prevented and ultimately wrecked the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement for an anti-Hitlerite coalition on the territory of today's FRG and West Berlin, split the Germany that had emerged as a result of World War II by forming a separate Bonn state, and split Berlin by undermining the single municipality. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army servicemen stationed in our country substantially promoted the democratization process, giving a great deal of impetus to the antifascist and democratic revolution, and actively and reliably ensured its external protection.

German Communists, the party of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann, and Wilhelm Pieck—for whom solidarity with the October Revolution and the fraternal alliance with the Soviet people were inviolable fundamental positions of German workers' policy as early as 1917—along with their social democratic class comrades, headed all the creative and peace-loving forces with a view to forming a new and humanistic social structure worthy of people, in which the workers enjoy the fruits of their labors and efforts, and good-neighborly relations with all the peoples determine the thrust of all educational, training, cultural, and foreign policy.

Of the 40 years of the development and improvement of socialist society the first 12 years—up to 1961—passed under the conditions of an open border with West Berlin and, consequently, the rebuffing of constant attempts to bring the young developing antifascist and democratic state to its knees by means of sabotage, diversion, economic blockade, and overt threats of aggression. Under these extremely difficult conditions we started creating the foundations of socialism and, by agreement with all Warsaw Pact states, on 13 August 1961 placed the state border with West Berlin under protection and gradually moved toward building a developed socialist state.

The course of a unified economic and social policy adopted in early 1971 at the historic Eighth SED Congress has been implemented with increasingly sizable results. Retaining whatever had proved its worth, the leadership of the national economy was subjected to constant critical analysis and was continually improved. This took account of the demands of the scientific and technical revolution and the economic laws existing under socialism. But the main thing is that ways and means to ensure the active and creative participation of working people in the running of the national economy as a whole and all of its individual processes were constantly sought out and expanded. The cooperation of the Soviet people, the help provided by them, and the comradely, creative, and constantly developing collaboration with the most varied organs of the Soviet state and servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces are among the reasons and favorable factors for successful progress down this sometimes complex and conflict-ridden road.

Thus, the foundation of the GDR, as a logical consequence and response to the emergence of the FRG, and the formation and flourishing of the republic are simultaneously a result of the close friendship with the Soviet Union. The path of increasingly intensive and effective collaboration and mutual aid covers the shipments of the first trucks and tractors 40 years ago right up to the recent accords between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker in the development of all-around cooperation between our socialist states through the next millennium.

With every passing year the conditions for ensuring a GDR defense capability commensurate with the given situation was created in all spheres as an inalienable component of this joint progress by our two states. This made it possible for the socialist German state's Army and the entire system for defending the country and its borders to protect—in close collaboration with its allies—the security of the first socialist state on German soil on the watershed between East and West.

We see close and fraternal collaboration with Lenin's party and country on all questions of the further development of socialist states and—as an unswerving condition for this—the safeguarding of peace, as axioms for our state's policy. These words are also addressed to those who, in view of the definite problems associated with our countries' development, are predicting yet again—for the umpteenth time now—the downfall of real socialism and its scientific foundation, Marxism-Leninism, and who would like to sow discord between our parties and states.

The GDR and its National People's Army remain faithful to the principle that the unity of the fundamental interests of all the socialist states not only makes it possible to ensure their close and comradely cooperation, but has also been an eternally unswerving condition for the progress of each socialist country individually and for the prosperity of all. Acting according to this principle for our party and our republic has always meant not just copying but studying the experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states in building and defending socialism, exchanging that experience, learning from each other, showing solidarity, and being concerned in our own country for achieving the utmost economic and social growth and stability and dynamism in all social processes.

Our course is a course of unity in economic and social policy. In accordance with the experience we have accumulated, and in furthering this course under our conditions, the advantages of socialism are increasingly evident, and working people's energies are being increasingly released to assimilate advanced technology,

to deepen international cooperation, to defend socialism, and to safeguard peace. This is what our party sees as the GDR's most important contribution to strengthening the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states.

Here in Central Europe on the dividing line between the two social systems and their military alliances we are showing concern to ensure that the socialist German state, relying on mutually advantageous cooperation among the socialist countries and adhering to the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, has made successful progress in the economic sphere, has maintained its moral and political cohesion, and has ensured the protection and security of our working people. We are thereby substantially promoting the maintenance of favorable external conditions for socialism's development in all our community countries, and for ensuring peace on our continent.

More and more people think this way, not least in the capitalist countries, because the GDR is a state which has resolutely put an end once and for all to imperialism, militarism, fascism, chauvinism, and racism. There is no room in our country for any economic or political interest in the arms race or expansion; our country makes no territorial claims or demands for changes to existing borders, as have been seen in the FRG, particularly of late. That is why the GDR is a force solely for peace. There is a common thread running through the more than 100 GDR proposals and initiatives submitted to the FRG in the fifties and sixties with a view to easing tension, normalizing mutual relations, and maintaining peace in Central Europe, right up to the unilateral measures with regard to disarmament and armed forces cuts adopted by the GDR Government together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This thread is the tireless search and active desire of our party and all our state's social forces rallied around it to strengthen confidence, to maintain dialogue and mutual understanding, and to ease tension in the international arena.

Through the great personal initiative of its top representative—Comrade Erich Honecker—the GDR advocated in the most diverse ways both in the international arena and on a national level the adoption of the first real steps in the disarmament sphere and, in particular, the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Our working people and servicemen will continue to be concerned to ensure that the GDR, in close alliance with the USSR and all the fraternal states and in accord with all peace-loving forces, shows itself to be a bulwark of peace and security and Central Europe.

In this broad alliance, too, the National People's Army and GDR law-enforcement organs will carry out their duties with a sense of great responsibility and with the proper combat readiness. From the time of its formation in 1956 the National People's Army has carried out the tasks entrusted to it of defending socialism and peace in close class and combat collaboration with the Soviet Army, the other fraternal armies, and above all the Western Group of Forces. Together with the forces of this group we carry out our service, stand guard, and safeguard the security of our country's state territory, airspace, and territorial waters. They have also helped and continue to help our socialist motherland's inhabitants to eliminate the consequences of natural disasters and catastrophes. Each year we hold joint military and staff exercises, scientific conferences, political events, and sports tournaments.

True to the behests of those German patriots and internationalists who fought side by side with Soviet workers and peasants in the October Revolution and the Civil War, who battled shoulder to shoulder with Soviet international brigade members for the Spanish republic, and who served in the Red Army during the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War, German-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms have put down deep roots in our country, are part and parcel of the education and training of our servicemen, and run through all spheres of the life of our Army, Border Guards, and other GDR law-enforcement organs.

We are being thoroughly consistent in continuing to further build a developed socialist society and are moving forward to meet the varied new demands of the fifth decade of the GDR's existence head-on. In line with the principle of continuity and renewal the 12th SED Congress in May 1990 will outline our course through the year 2000. The congress will discuss and ratify our tasks and the methods of resolving them—methods aimed at strengthening socialism on German soil, at ensuring its invulnerability against any incursions and overt or covert attacks, and at strengthening peace for the sake of our common cause and for the benefit of working people.

Article Sets Scene for Berlin Visit, Festivities

PM0710160689 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Bogomolov Berlin dispatch: "The Republic's Jubilee"]

[Text] Among the people who had begun to gather from early in the morning on Unter den Linden, I made the acquaintance of Johann Kamper. He works in Brandenburg, at a steel plant. He is in the capital on business, which happened to coincide with M.S. Gorbachev's arrival in Berlin. As he says, he could not miss the opportunity to see the Soviet leader.

"You know," Kamper says, "your leader is extremely popular with us. Many young people, including my daughter, wear badges with a picture of him and t-shirts with symbols of perestroyka and glasnost on them. So when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrives in Berlin the most sincere, warm welcome always awaits him."

And indeed: Not even the most searching gaze will detect any trace of insincerity in the way the Soviet leader was greeted in Berlin yesterday.

"Our friendship," Johann Kamper goes on, "has indeed stood the test of many years. We still have much in common today, although one cannot close one's eyes to the natural differences. We are following the same socialist route, but not always by identical paths; we regard each other's experience with sympathy and understanding."

Red Soviet banners are often encountered among the national flags that embellish the city at the moment. People in the GDR remember that it was the USSR that liberated the German people, who were the first victim of the "brown plague," and honor the memory of the sons and daughters of the Soviet land who gave their lives to deliver mankind fron Nazism. Throughout these 40 years, as Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, noted, cooperation with the Soviet Union has been a mighty support for the GDR's economic policy.

That is why people in the GDR assess so highly the visit to the country, which began yesterday, by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who has come to take part in the celebrations of the republic's 40th anniversary. This visit, Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, noted, once again confirms the community of our fundamental ideas on the ideals and values of socialism and its vitality and historical prospects.

The first worker-peasant state on German soil is marking its 40-year jubilee. In historical terms this is an insignificant period, and in comparison with Germany's many centuries of history it appears brief. But from the viewpoint of establishing the foundations of a new system, 40 years gives us the right to draw serious conclusions. This date is a reason for summing up results.

Dry statistics convincingly indicate considerable successes. The national income produced this year will be 11 times higher than the figure for 1949, when the GDR was formed. The volume of industrial production expected this year will be 16.5 times higher than in 1949.

A subject of special pride among the republic's inhabitants is the housing program, which it is planned to complete next year. Addressing journalists on the eve of the holiday, Hannelore Mensch, first deputy mayor of Berlin, cited these figures:

"Since 1971, 330,000 apartments have been commissioned in the capital, in modernized and new buildings. Three-fourths of all Berliners have moved. In parallel, we have developed the necessary social infrastructure: We have built stores, clinics, schools, kindergartens."

But, there is a fly in the ointment. The comrades in the GDR naturally do not like it when, during these festive days, they are endlessly reminded of the refugees who, this summer and fall, have been trying to reach the West by various means, in a suspiciously organized manner. Literally every day FRG television, which can be received well over almost the entire territory of the GDR, shows lengthy items on this subject. Now they are showing the trains on which the refugees who had entrenched themselves on the territory of the FRG Embassy in Prague crossed the territory of the GDR. This is not a simple subject. It involves problems of reuniting families and ideological and economic questions. But everything is relative. Hannelore Mensch, answering a journalist's question, said that in the recent period 500 people have left Berlin, that huge city, for the West.

In the West, when they speak about the GDR, they often try to represent the country as some kind of ossified enclave of Stalinism where everything is immobile and the very word "reform" is banned. In the GDR itself, this stereotype is decisively rejected.

"In the new decade," Otto Reinhold, president of the SED Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, says, "we must maintain an annual growth in GNP of 3-4 percent, which will make it possible to tackle effectively the problems of development of the scientific and technical revolution and social and ecological questions. But what we did in the seventies and what we are doing now is no longer enough. We need structural changes in the economy, first and foremost in management. Another important avenue must be the expansion of the working people's participation in the economic and political spheres. As for the development of socialism in the nineties, it must be said that it cannot move forward without universal transformations. In this respect the CPSU and the SED are committed to the same concept—socialism without democracy is impossible. We believe that perestroyka in the USSR is absolutely necesssary. But you have different conditions from us. In the GDR, too, a very broad discussion of development prospects is in progress within the party and within society. A discussion that is taking place in the interests of all the people."

Navy Squadron Arrives in GDR for Anniversary Day

LD0510202289 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin October 5 TASS—A squadron of Soviet naval ships, comprised of the "Bditelniy" escort ship, the "Silniy" anti-submarine ship and a big airborne ship [as received] flying the flag of Baltic Fleet Commander Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, arrived in Rostock, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), today.

The Soviet ships were greeted by Vice-Admiral Theodor Hoffman, GDR's deputy defence minister and chief of the navy.

During the five-day visit, the Soviet sailors will take part in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR's foundation.

Poland's Rakowski Arrives, Met by Yakovlev

LD1010215589 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 10—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski came here today on a working visit, accompanied by PUWP Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Natorf.

Rakowski was welcomed at the Vnukovo airport here by Political Bureau member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev.

"I have been PUWP Central Committee 1st secretary for a couple of months. I deem it is necessary to maintain, as the 1st secretary, very close ties between Soviet and Polish Communists and vice versa," Rakowski told newsmen at the airport when asked for the purpose of his visit.

"I come here to exchange ideas with Mikhail Gorbachev who is a man not only respected by me and by us, but also greatly admired for his courage, energy and perseverance in this great work that he has undertaken," Rakowski added.

Rakowski is to meet Gorbachev this coming Wednesday [11 October] in the forenoon. Rakowski's press conference announced today by spokesman of Soviet Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov also arouses considerable interest.

Poland's Janowski Queried on Internal Situation

LD1010030689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2005 GMT 9 Oct 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Excerpts] [Korzin] [Passage omitted] Jan Janowski, deputy chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, is in Moscow now and we decided to obtain firsthand information [on the situation in Poland]. The deputy chairman gave a brief interview to our correspondent, Stanislav Tarasov.

[Begin recording] [Tarasov] Mr Janowski, you are the first representative of the new Polish Government to arrive in the Soviet Union. Our viewers and the public are very interested in the problem of Poland's economic difficulties. How is the new government going to solve these problems?

[Janowski, in Polish, fading into superimposed Russian translation] The main thing that the government is striving to do now, first and foremost, is restrict its own interference with the solution of economic problems, achieve the convertibility of the national currency, and halt inflation so as to eliminate it altogether at a later stage. Of course, all these are long-term goals. The main goal is to raise the people's welfare. Of course, it is difficult to pull a country out of a crisis within short time limits. We have only developed the first stage of the implementation of economic reform. Many things will depend on this stage and to what extent the population and society are able to endure the difficulties that are arising.

[Tarasov] How long will the current Polish Government last?

[Janowski] This depends on the trust the people show in it. In order not to lose this trust, urgent measures should be taken that would give rise the hope that the crisis will be overcome.

[Tarasov] How do you see the political situation in Poland now?

[Janowski] For the first time in many years a government which enjoys public confidence has appeared in Poland. Regarding Poland's political system, our country is on the eve of great changes. New political trends are taking shape within the framework of existing parties, and new parties are being set up.

I can say, however, that it is becoming clear now that only centrist political currents have a chance of survival in Poland and not extremists, who do not enjoy broad support of the masses.

[Tarasov] In the situation that has arisen how do you evaluate prospects for Polish-Soviet cooperation?

[Janowski] I think the things that are happening in the Soviet Union and Poland now inspire one with great hopes. Why do I think so? In my view, in the past we used to speak about mutual love and cooperation but it was nothing but a facade, whereas now our cooperation is becoming more businesslike. Earlier our society was sure that it helped the Soviet Union while your society thought the Soviet Union maintained Poland. Those were views of the past. Now we speak openly about the faults of our cooperation or difficult moments in our history. This creates a very favourable atmosphere, and therefore I see the future of our relations optimistically in all their aspects. We are neighbors and should cooperate on a mutually beneficial basis. [end recording] [video shows Janowski, Tarasov talking in a room]

PZPR Plenum Debate on Party Future Noted

PM0610105089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Anatoliy Starukhin article under the rubric "Our Correspondent Comments": "What the Party Should Be Like"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Oct—The question of what the party should be like tomorrow has probably never before confronted the Polish United Workers' Party [PZRP] so

acutely. It arises logically from the problems into which this 2-million-strong political organization has, so to speak, plunged headlong.

The people's trust in the party has largely been lost. Dissatisfaction is expressed with the practical activity of the party's members. The real state of affairs calls for a quest for new forms of work and a new organizational structure of the party.

These problems were the subject of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, held in Warsaw. Its first part was concluded 2 weeks ago, and the subsequent interval was occupied by a kind of intraparty referendum on the need for and timing of the convocation of the 11th PZPR Congress, amendments to the PZPR program and statutes, and the consolidation of party ranks. In short, a profound restructuring of the party itself was discussed. As L. Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said at the plenum, more than 1 million communists took part in the discussion.

It was decided to bring forward the congress by 6 months, and it is to open on 27 January 1990. Some 72 percent of those involved in the debate came out in favor of a change in the PZPR's name and its statutes and program. At the same time it became clear that a considerable number of PZPR members do not approve of the aims of restructuring. That carries a threat of a split from within. The plenum participants therefore made efforts to preserve the PZPR's unity until the forthcoming congress.

Many people think that the congress should lead to the creation of a new party of Poland's left-wing forces, and that it should be prepared for activity within a multiparty political system and parliamentary democracy. The 11th PZPR Congress must therefore make a searching assessment of previous party activity.

The party needs to renew and develop democratic principles—that view was expressed repeatedly by plenum participants from the platform. Let us look at recent figures from the Polish center for public opinion studies. These show that confidence in the PZPR among the people has declined. The majority of the population—57 percent—disapprove of the party's activity.

The plenum was addressed by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The plenum described the situation in the country today as extremely worrisome. There is a shortage of goods and food on the domestic market, the production of industrial output is falling, and inflation is growing.

How can the party be updated, rejuvenated, how can it take its only rightful place in society, its worthy place, so as to be as useful as possible to all Poles? These urgent questions will inevitably face the delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress. Their resolution will, frankly, determine the fate of the Polish Communists' Party.

Article Discusses PZPR Search for Way Forward

PM0610131189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[L. Toporkov dispatch under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Party Seeks Way Out"]

[Text] Warsaw—In a televised report from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum a correspondent, talking with M. Rakowski, asked him what his attitude is to the current opinion that he is not the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee but the last. In response to this popular pun, Rakowski smiled and said that debates about the party and the inevitable changes within it, notably the possibility of setting up a completely new party, are currently under way.

Life produces puns. The party had to be defeated to ponder its role in society more seriously than ever before and begin to appeal to young people to act. In short, it has set down to the work which it should have tackled during its successful "fat" years—as Poles say—rather than only during the lean years which have inevitably set in. I say inevitably because, while embodying power for many years with not even a thought about ever having to part with it, the party or, more correctly, its leadership and apparatus persistently failed to notice the changing mood in society.

How could this mood fail to change when things reached the point where there were permanent failures, which were particularly painful in the economy. It would have been strange if confidence in the party had not dwindled under these conditions. Although the party ultimately abandoned its monopoly on power in an attempt to prove that it was capable of change, it was already too late.

The work of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum took place against the backdrop of this unprecedentedly low "morale in party ranks," Jerzy Majka, editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, said, when bitter emotions and stresses predominate hand rather than cool reason. It turned out that the party was unprepared both politically and psychologically for the new situation within the country. The complex of a ruling body, on which allegedly everything still depends, remains alive within it. Hence the mutual accusations and the desire to find out who is personally responsible for the defeat.

Nonetheless, the interval of many days between the two plenum sittings has shown that a comforting hopeful phenomenon has emerged: There are increasing sources of vigorous inquiring thought arising within the party along with increasing supporters of radical deductions drawn from the past and the creation of a new party that would be capable of acting under conditions of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy. People are racking their brains, seeking ways to escape from the crisis.

What are these ways? The party is threatened with division and its leaders acknowledge that, if this happens, the PZPR will quit the stage of history. That is why the most important thing now is party unity. The instinct of self-preservation must prompt every one of its members to stop digging their own grave and strive to prevent disintegration. But not, however, in order to salvage the party's honor but to advance through resolute renewal. That is what is advocated by everyone who is conscious of their responsibility for the future of the PZPR and its revival as the party for all leftist forces.

A poll conducted in party organizations aimed to determine opinion as to whether the PZPR should be turned into a new party with a new program, statutes, and title. L. Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, pointed out in his speech that the results of the poll showed that approximately three-fourths of those polled favor this option. They supported the proposal for precongress discussion to be based on the discussion of several rival programs and ideological-organizational platforms.

The plenum formed a special commission comprising 300 people, which will be engaged in elaborating the foundations of the future model of the party and the principles for the election of delegates to the congress, along with an ideological-organizational declaration. It was decided to convene the PZPR Congress 27 January 1990.

Delivering the closing address, M. Rakowski stressed that the poll of PZPR members indicates that the PZPR acts as a reformist force. He confirmed the party's will to cooperate with other political forces acting for the good of the people and the state. At the same time, he said, we will oppose any efforts to divert Poland from the path of socialist development. We have a historic chance ahead of us. We can prove to the world that progress and socialism can be built in conditions of democracy without resorting to dictatorship.

Polish Coalition Termed 'Bold Experiment'

18070363 Moscow VETERAN in Russian
No 38, 18-24 Sep 89

[Article by Yu. Skvortsov, TRUD staff correspondent, Warsaw: "A Sharp Turn for Poland—But Where?"]

[Text] Many of those who are following today's events in Poland—through short commentaries on the television program VREMYA and in the newspapers—are asking themselves alarming questions: "What is happening—is Poland moving off the socialist path?" "What are the Polish Communists doing? Power is being wrested from them."

The questions are direct and to the point, and would seem to require answers just as direct and to the point. But there are no such direct answers for today, and quite possibly there will not be in the near future. Why? Because uncompromisingly direct questions only seem incontrovertibly logical, while actually they provide evidence of the fact that we sometimes want to measure the stormy, complex movement of the world around us using that old political yardstick marked in just two colors—red and black.

Yes, there has been a transfer of power in Poland. For the first time in four decades, a non-communist government has recently been formed in Poland. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic and one of the leaders of "Solidarity," has become chairman of the Council of Ministers. The cabinet is comprised of 12 members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (CPC), representing Solidarity circles; 4 members of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and United Peasants' Party; and 3 from the Democratic Party.

Representatives of these four groups have obtained posts of deputy head of government, combining this function with directorship of the specific ministries.

The legislative authority—the Parliament—has for several months now been neither in the hands of nor under the supervision of the Polish United Workers' Party. The senators come almost exclusively from Solidarity—98 out of 99. Communists are represented in the Sejm, but they do not hold the deciding vote—less than half of Sejm deputies are communists. In short, the communists in Poland no longer have a legislative or executive monopoly in state power. When one takes into account the fact that several Solidarity leaders have proclaimed as their aim "replacing the system in Poland," the conclusion involuntarily but inevitably arises—perhaps the country will not follow the socialist path and instead proceed along a capitalist one or, at best, along some middle-of-the-road path consisting of elements from both.

It is likely that many people in our country today are thinking this way, or approximately this way. I will not attempt to convince them otherwise—especially since there are no weighty conclusions as yet to support another point of view. Nonetheless... How do we treat one "detail" which clearly defies the logic of such an "iron" conclusion, which destroys the symmetry of the political portrait of Poland in the future?

The union "Solidarity," which for 8 years authorities refused to acknowledge officially, was legalized in Poland by none other than the PZPR, in other words, by the Polish Communists themselves. And the communists invited Solidarity leaders to "roundtable" negotiations. And to participate in the parliamentary elections. And to publish their own newspapers and make their own television broadcasts. The communists could hardly have failed to think ahead regarding the possible danger to themselves, to socialism in Poland. Then what is this all about?

It is about the fact that in spring of this year the Polish United Workers' Party decided, precisely upon its own initiative, to break with its system of party autocracy. It was nudged in this direction by reality itself—it was

necessary, in order for the country to finally break out of the social and economic crises which were dragging out over decades, and in order for millions of Poles to rid themselves of the everyday miseries they had endured so many years. The party autocracy held by Polish Communists was an obvious fact, while unified thought in society turned out to be a myth—a myth it was already impossible to live with, with which Poland had to part. The way out of the quandary, PZPR declared, was to create a socialist state of parliamentary democracy, where power would be held not by an abstract "all the Polish people," but by the specific elements which compose it—political, social, and religious groups. In other words, the Polish United Workers' Party decided to engage in a bold experiment without parallel, to create a socialist state in which the Communist Party did not possess privileges to power, but only the right, on an equal basis with other parties and social forces, to gain authority with the Polish people and the right to lead them by virtue of its specific deeds.

However, the course political events have followed—initiated by PZPR—turned out to be quite different from what was expected. Thus, the results of the parliamentary elections were a complete surprise for the communists. The PZPR candidate for prime minister, Czeslaw Kiszczak, became premier, but was unable to form a government and was forced to retire. The party coalition in the Sejm—of PZPR, United Peasants' Party, and Democratic Party, which had seemed unshakable—suddenly collapsed. The latter two joined a new coalition headed by Solidarity.

Winning the elections, Solidarity did not plan "to seize power in 1989," although it already had that by law. Originally it declared that it would remain an opposition, and agreed to the provision that the country's president be a communist. This in fact took place—Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected president. And suddenly, a new turn of events, a new slogan: "The president is yours; but the government is ours..." In short, political surprises flowed out as if from the horn of plenty. Nonetheless, the communists showed restraint and consistency—they did not betray their new politics or new tactics. And it was announced that both sides would adhere to decisions reached during the spring at the "roundtable."

Can Poland already be considered today a country of parliamentary democracy? I believe so. The parliament has been elected by the people and is already operating. The coalition government is setting about accomplishment of its obligations—with the participation of communists. The country's president is a communist.

But how do we deal with fears that the country may stray off the socialist path of development? For the time being we see no specific examples of attack upon the socialist foundations of the state. Someone from Solidarity will verbally threaten socialism. But even from that corner, declarations ring out that they will not touch the valuable gains won by socialism in Poland.

And so we believe, looking from the side—at close distance, but from the side all the same—that we should hold on to our categorical evaluations of events in Poland. We cannot forget that the PZPR is a force, a party in Poland which has many adherents as well as critics.

We, the Soviet people, can in no way be indifferent to Poland's future. This is our closest neighbor, our Warsaw Pact ally, and our reliable partner in trade. And we have a right to hope that Poland, remaining socialist and friendly, will become a powerful country, rich and prosperous.

Shishlin Views PZPR Plenum, MSZMP Congress

LD0810181889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Hello comrades. The working people of the GDR have just marked the 40th anniversary of their republic. As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other foreign guests took part in the celebrations for this great date. The 4 decades of our neighbor's, our ally's, life haven't been unclouded. All kinds of things have happened, but no one will dispute that country's real and significant achievements in various spheres of public life, although that's a long way from saying that the GDR has no problems at all now. Frequently the unhealthy influences of the West German magnet show here, of course. But on the other hand very serious political processes—at times dramatic ones—are unfolding throughout the socialist ocuntries at varying rhythms and to varying depths.

Just last week the 15th Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum took place. It adopted the document—it has quite a complicated title—Positions on Issues of the Party's Main Tasks Until the 11th PZPR Congress. In this the PZPR Central Committee supports changing the party's name. It thinks that—but the congress will decide this, strictly speaking—the party should be called the Polish Democratic Socialist Party of Left-Wing Forces. What a long name. The content of the plenum's platform looks approximately like this: Our Polish comrades favor a variety of forms of economic management, various forms of ownership, and, at the same time, loyalty to socialist values. They call for a campaign against all concepts which are drawing Poland away from the socialist path of development.

A Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party congress also opened last week. The issues on the congress' agenda are very major ones which are of vital importance for the country's destiny. Our Hungarian comrades are also contemplating renaming their party and, it must be admitted, it cannot be ruled out that a split may occur in the party. Essentially, the political picture in Hungary has already changed significantly. A multiparty system is

taking shape in the country and the main task of the party is seen as finding ways in these conditions to renew socialism, and develop and preserve a socialist society.

But, of course, all these changes are developing on a national and internal basis. Still, they cannot be separated from the wide international background. Essentially, the postwar period, the long, drawn out postwar period, has ended or is ending, and we are entering a real period of peace. We shouldn't think that this transition, the emergence from the postwar period into a period of peace, will last days, weeks, or even months. No, it will take years. And, of course, these processes may be painful. They are turning out to be painful, and they may be accompanied by the appearance of all kinds of extremes. But, one way or another, this period is of an objective nature and it is inevitable. It must be borne in mind that this inclination toward tomorrow by no means signifies a negation of the entire past. It is precisely a dialectical negation of negation, when everything positive accumulated in previous development becomes a basis for progress, and everything alien, erroneous, and fallacious passes into oblivion.

Siwicki on Polish Contribution to Warsaw Pact

LD0510001189 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw October 4 TASS—"Strictly abiding by their alliance commitments, the Polish Armed Forces make a worthy contribution to the defenses of the socialist alliance," Polish Defence Minister Army General Florian Siwicki told TASS.

"Maintaining the sufficient defence capability, high-skills and combat-readiness of the Polish Armed Forces, who are an important link in the Warsaw Treaty, is a constant concern of the Polish Government," the minister said in an interview linked with a session of the Warsaw Treaty's Military council in Warsaw.

Much has happened since the last meeting of the Military Council in Poland in 1986, he said.

The political Consultative Committee held a meeting to analyse the international situation in Europe and the world. The meeting resulted in specific proposals designed to avert war, preserve peace, stop the arms race and improve the international climate.

More trust, further East-West dialogue on arms reduction and the scrapping of military and political stereotypes create an atmosphere of convergence and cooperation between the states of opposing military alliances, the general believes.

The successful implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and Warsaw Treaty's unilateral arms cuts helped considerably to improve the international climate, Siwicki said.

The public is increasingly aware of the fact that there is no reason to perceive war as a means of solving conflicts. Now the military has a different approach to security, he said.

"The new approach to security issues requires corresponding changes in our structure and training to maintain a prudent defence sufficiency," he said.

"While there is still a realistic threat, we cannot disregard anything which serves to promote security," the general emphasised, saying that expanding and seeking new forms of cooperation, and strengthening ties in the Warsaw Pact remains a priority of the Polish foreign policy.

West Europe

Zagladin Previews Delegation's Visit to France

PM0610093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Malukhin report under the rubric "News Conference": "People's Diplomacy With French Accent"]

[Text] The day before the departure to France of a Soviet public delegation of unprecedented size and representation, a meeting of the trip's leaders and participants with Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. Vadim Zagladin, advisor to the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, who heads the delegation, presided at the press conference.

"People's diplomacy has a two-fold task: First, to support and stimulate governments' peaceloving initiatives and, second, to overcome established prejudices and stereotypes via personal familiarization with other peoples' lives," he said. "During M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to France emphasis was put on the public's role to develop and give concrete expression to multifaceted cooperation between the two countries, which have long adhered to the idea of dialogue and accord in their relations. Despite the large number and importance of bilateral contacts, until now they have been effected mainly through official channels. The Soviet public's present action, which has been called 'Dialogue-89' and is in response to the French 'Initiative-87' in Moscow 2 years ago, opens up an opportunity for direct contact between peoples. The Soviet delegation is made up of representatives from all the union and many autonomous republics, various social and professional strata, and traditional and informal public structures. None of the participants will be limited in expressing their own positions and views. Just as 2 years ago M.S. Gorbachev received a French delegation, the current program of the Soviet group's stay in France will begin with a meeting with F. Mitterrand 2 October. The organizers and sponsors of the present trip are the "USSR-France" Friendship Society and the Soviet Peace Fund.

The following took part in the press conference: V. Lunev, USSR people's deputy and lathe operator at the

"Kompressor" plant; D. Mamleyev, deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Fund board; Professor Yu. Pankov, member of the "USSR-France" presidential council; and Pitirim, metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryevsk.

An extremely full and interesting program of "face to face" meetings with France, which will be reported by IZVESTIYA special correspondents in the newspaper, lies ahead.

Mitterrand Receives Visiting Soviet Delegation

PM0610122589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by special correspondents A. Kuvshinnikov and V. Malukhin: "320 People's Diplomats"]

[Text] Paris—On the morning of 4 October, a Soviet delegation of 320 representatives of political, professional, and public circles of the Soviet Union flew from Paris to nine of France's department centers. The first stage of "Dialogue-89" was completed.

What are the main events which have marked the previous 2 days of the Soviet delegation's work in Paris? There is no doubt that they culminated in the recent at the Elysee palace given in honor of the guests from the USSR by French President Francois Mitterrand.

Addressing the reception in the banqueting hall, President F. Mitterrand touched on the most diverse themes. We shall cite one of his statements:

"...The copyright to the idea of the 'all-European home' belongs to President Gorbachev. I was warned to be more cautious on this score—I was told that this is an idea which comes from the other side.... But nonetheless I consider it a fine idea. Although, to be honest, I do not yet entirely understand who will live in the loft of the home, who on the first floor, who in the basement, and who in the kitchen. Perhaps we will exchange apartments... Nonetheless it is a fine expression of a great idea...."

The leitmotif of F. Mitterrand's speech in our view can be considered to be the theme of the European countries' reciprocal openness, which presupposes the speediest removal of the barriers which still exist on the path of expanding trade and economic and humanitarian contacts between East and West.

Having completed his speech F. Mitterrand expressed the readiness to answer questions. One of them was: "How realistic do you consider to be the ability of the people's diplomacy to influence the process of the taking of state decisions?"

"I happen to represent the state here," the French president answered with a smile. "So you must decide for yourselves what you are capable of. It is you, the envoys of the people's diplomacy, who must persuade us statesmen that that is how we should act. My opinion is that the people should have the last word. Although, of course, it would be a good thing if they also had the first word. But for that it is essential to decentralize state power and to create institutions capable of guaranteeing them that right."

The Soviet representatives visited the National Assembly, the State Council, a number of France's biggest trade unions, the editorial offices of all the main Paris newspapers, and the headquarters of influential political parties. We recall the meeting at the "France liberte" foundation—a well known French public organization.

"Our foundation," I was told by its founder and leader, Madame Danielle Mitterrand, the French president's wife, "is above all a place for meeting and talking about the problems of our life. We are prepared to listen to everyone and we are trying to help people as far as we are able. Human solidarity can resolve the most complex problems."

At the meeting at the foundation the Soviet participants suggested several specific programs united by a common aim—enlisting children to the study of ecological subjects, instilling general human culture in them, without which the solution of global social problems is impossible. People are wasting a very great deal of effort to repeat each other's mistakes and that is why international cooperation is so necessary between public organizations seeking to nurture in children responsibility for the decisions they will have to take when they grow up and on which the fate of mankind will depend.

The next day the Soviet delegation had a meeting with Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris. Welcoming the Soviet guests, he stressed in particular that at a time when all Europe has started moving, has acquired openness, and is experiencing profound changes, we are in increasing need of preparing our continent's future in joint thinking and joint dialogue. So let us be rivals, J. Chirac said, only in achieving peace and let us use this truly historic period of changes to create the Europe of which General de Gaulle dreamed for over 20 years, seeing it as a Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals." A Europe which, rising above existing national and political differences, would preach the same ideals of freedom, prosperity, and peace.

Answering numerous questions from the auditorium, J. Chirac expressed in particular the desire that organizations like the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls should disappear from the practice of international relations, driven out by joint efforts in disarmament, but he immediately stressed that this could only be the result of a new stage in the consolidation of the level of military and political trust.

The mayor of Paris noted the high level of relations between the capitals of France and the Soviet Union but he said that there is still room for improvement here. He declared at the meeting that he is scheduled to visit Moscow in November.

President Mitterand Cited on European Ties

PM0610101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Reception With the President"]

[Text] Paris, 3 Oct—A delegation of Soviet politicians and public figures touring the country at the invitation of the "France-USSR" Society under the "Dialogue-89" program has been received at the Elysee Palace by F. Mitterrand. Speaking at this meeting, the president pointed out that he attaches great significance to exchanges of this nature, and that is why he considered it necessary to meet the Soviet delegation, since M.S. Gorbachev had met a group of French representatives during their USSR tour under the "Initiative-87" program.

The reforms undertaken by the USSR leadership, F. Mitterrand said, are a tremendous task. They are aimed at giving Soviet citizens greater freedom and greater prosperity. French people fully share this desire.

We wish perestroyka success, the president said. The strengthening of peaceful cooperation between the USSR and France, and other countries of the world, is extremely important and necessary. Touching on the concept of the "common European home," he indicated that this idea is winning broad approval and support today. All of us on the European continent are part of one community. We have a common history and common traditions. Unfortunately, today's borders still divide peoples. But the prospect for free exchanges, close contacts between people, and comprehensive trade and economic cooperation is a real one.

Disarmament, Francois Mitterrand said, is a priority for all Europe at present. A great deal has already been done in this area by joint efforts. France expresses its satisfaction with the decision to eliminate intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in Europe and welcomes in every way the USSR and U.S. steps aimed at reducing strategic nuclear arms. Confrontation must, if it still exists, be implemented at the lowest level of arms. We are bound to do everything to jointly strengthen our peoples' security.

The president answered a number of questions put by members of the delegation, assuring them of France's desire to preserve peace, to develop all-around relations with the Soviet Union, and to see the development and strengthening of the process of all-European cooperation.

The Soviet delegation today met G. Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party.

Netherlands' Deputy Prime Minister Pays Visit

Katushev, De Korte Discuss Trade

LD0510002189 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev met Dutch Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs Rudolf de Korte here today to discuss trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Netherlands.

The meeting was also attended by Dutch ambassador to the Soviet Union Petrus Buwalda.

Nikitin Receives De Korte

LD0510203389 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Vladilen Nikitin met today Dutch Deputy Prime Minister and Economy Minister Rudolf B. de Korte.

The parties discussed aspects of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and new approaches towards deepening bilateral relations in the field of agro-industrial production—taking into account peculiarities of development of small-scale farmsteads.

Soviet Ambassador to the Netherlands Aleksandr Chikvaidze and Ambassador of the Netherlands to the Soviet Union Petrus Buwalda took part in the conversation.

Biryukova Speaks With De Korte

LD0610205789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today, Comrade Biryukova received (Enski), director general of the Vienna section of the United Nations and secretary general of the eighth UN congress for combating crime. She is in our country at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. They discussed closer cooperation between the USSR and other countries within the framework of the UN on actions aimed at resolving complex social problems, such as the position of women, families, young people, old people, and invalids; the struggle against crime; and drug abuse. Comrade Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, took part in the conversation.

On the same day, Comrade Biryukova had a meeting with Rudolf de Korte, deputy prime minister and minister of economics of the Netherlands. An exchange of opinions took place on a broad range of issues of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

More on Biryukova-De Korte Talks

PM0910153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] On 6 October A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with R. de Korte, deputy prime minister and minister of economic affairs of The Netherlands. During the conversation, which was held in a warm atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Special attention was paid to the development of ties between enterprises and firms in the USSR and The Netherlands in the sphere of consumer goods production.

A.D. Chikvaidze, USSR ambassador to The Netherlands, took part in the conversation.

Agreement on Investment Protection

LD0810111489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0803 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] In Moscow an agreement has been signed between the USSR and the Netherlands on the promotion and mutual protection of capital investment. This will serve the further development of business cooperation between the two countries. [video shows signing ceremony]

Science Cooperation Talks Reported

LD0610202789 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—In the months to go before the regular session of the mixed commission of scientific and technological cooperation, the Soviet and Dutch experts will concentate on elaborating the legal and contractual basis of their cooperation.

The session is scheduled for the first quarter of next year in Moscow, as was decided here today by Nikolay Laverov, Soviet deputy premier and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, and Rudolph de Korte, minister of economic affairs of the Netherlands

During an exchange of opinions on the potential areas of cooperation, they stressed the need to expand joint research and development activities in electronics, biotechnology, automation and development of new materials and nuclear energy.

In the opinion of De Korte, environmental protection should also be discussed. Dutch specialists have accumulated vast experience in the area that they will willingly share with the Soviet side.

Dutch specialists, the minister said, are prepared to assist in the application of the scientific achievements of Soviet defence industries to the production of consumer goods.

De Korte favoured broader cooperation between the two countries in space research, high resolution television, and in standard uniformity.

Laverov said that De Korte's visit to Moscow will further the bilateral cooperation in science and technology and stimulate broader business relations in many areas.

Economic Cooperation Talks With Norway Begin

LD1010142789 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The 16th session of the Soviet-Norwegian inter-governmental bilateral commission for economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation opened here today.

It will sum up the results of cooperation between the two countries and map out ways to further develop commercial and economic relations.

The session, attended by a large number of Norwegian businessmen, will consider different cooperation projects, including some linking the northern areas of the USSR and Norway. Before the session the Norwegian businessmen visited Vyborg where they showed interest in the projected free economic zone.

The Soviet delegation to the session is headed by Vsevolod Vorontsov, first deputy minister for foreign economic relations of the USSR, and the Norwegian delegation—by the Minister for Commerce and Shipping Jan Balstad.

FRG Bundesrat President Interviewed on USSR Visit

PM0610123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in IZVESTIYA editorial office with B. Engholm, president of the FRG Bundesrat, by A. Balandin and S. Guk: "Bjoern Engholm's Threefold Interest; FRG Bundesrat Chairman Is Our Editorial Office Guest"—date of interview not specified, first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpt] A delegation from the FRG Bundesrat headed by B. Engholm, its president and Schleswig-Holstein prime minister, which is in the Soviet Union at the USSR Supreme Soviet's invitation, visited the editorial office. The role of the Soviet press in the perestroyka process interested the guests. At the end of the conversation B. Engholm gave an interview to IZVESTIYA.

[Correspondents] Mr Prime Minister, what does the business side of your visit to the USSR consist of? Or is it purely for acquaintance and familiarization?

[Engholm] We had a "threefold interest." First, as prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein I wanted to present it more fully to the USSR. Second, as the current president of the the FRG Bundesrat—to show clearly the entire federation's attitude to the transformations in your country. And, finally, third, as member of the SPD presidium—to bring home my own assessments of what I saw and inform my party's leadership about this.

I believe that all the goals set have been reached. Of course, such a small land as Schleswig-Holstein cannot implement cooperation with the entire Soviet Union. For this reason we wanted to choose a specific region. Such a region could be the Baltic Republics. We, I mean Schleswig-Holstein, would like to be a unique bridge between the EEC and the USSR.

[Correspondents] Many FRG lands support direct economic ties with the Soviet Union. What contacts does Schleswig-Holstein have in this sphere?

[Engholm] First and foremost we were interested in deepening cooperation in the shipbuilding sphere. Here our land occupies the leading position in the federation. The first contracts have been signed. We are hoping not only for their implementation, but also for joint development of the latest technology. Your shipbuilders have accumulated a great deal of experience, but they also have something to learn from us. Such an exchange could bring great mutual benefits.

Second is the establishment of direct transportation communications between Soviet ports and those in Schleswig-Holstein. The exchange of goods between the "Common Market" and the USSR will increase in the near future, and it will be difficult to implement all transportation only by land.

The third sphere where mutual efforts will be applied is agriculture and food production. We as a classic agrarian land have modern agricultural technology which the Soviet Union needs.

And, of course, questions of cultural cooperation must not be ignored.

[Correspondents] Evidently, you spoke mainly with our parliamentarians during your visit. Before this you probably had sufficient information about progress in the top USSR legislative organ. Did you get anything new from this, and if so, what specifically?

[Engholm] Frankly, just a few years ago it was impossible to imagine the USSR Supreme Soviet as it is at present. It was not a parliament in the way we understand it, as it carried out party directives and did not have the opportunity to discuss openly the problems of all the people. Today discussions take place there which can be compared with the speeches in our parliaments. They are keen and open. The public can follow their progress. The Supreme Soviet has turned into a kind of forum of the entire people, and is the pluralistic instrument and motor for further political development.

We have a sincere interest in deepening interparliamentarian contacts. I invited your representatives to visit the Bundesrat. The invitation has been accepted. [passage omitted]

Gorbachevs Attend La Scala Performance in Moscow

LD1010190789 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—Performances of the Italian opera company La Scala at Moscow's Bolshoy Theatre have been acclaimed by Soviet audiences.

Since October 6, the company has been performing "I Capuletti Ed I Montecchi" by Vincenzo Bellini.

Today's performance was attended by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, and by the Italian ambassador to the USSR, Ferdinando Salleo.

La Scala will also perform in Moscow "Cosi Fan Tutti" by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Adriana Lecouvreur" by Francesco Cilea, and "Turandot" by Giacomo Puccini.

The performances will last until November 2.

In turn, the Bolshoy company began performing in the Italian city of Milan on October 3. It will perform the operas "Life For the Tsar" by Mikhail Glinka, "Boris Godunov" by Modest Mussorgskiy, "Mlada" by Nikolay Rimskiy-Korsakov, and "Duenna" by Sergey Prokofiev.

Lukyanov Attends Moscow Savoy Hotel Opening

PM1010103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: " 'Savoy' Invites You"]

[Text] The "Savoy" hotel which has been restored in central Moscow meets the strictest demands of modern comfort. It is the creation of the Soviet-Finnish joint venture "Infa-otel," created in accordance with the 1987 agreement between the "Inturist" all-union joint stock company and the "Finnair" joint stock company. A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin took part in the hotel's official opening ceremony 3 October.

K. Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish parliament and an eminent figure of the international social democratic movement, who came to our country to take part in this ceremony, stressed in his speech that Finnish-Soviet cooperation is cooperation in action. It has been the result of perestroyka, which has attracted and continues to attract great attention in the world. Cooperation between the two countries, he said, is often set up as an example. It is developing in the most diverse fields in the spirit of the 1948 treaty. Finland has concluded almost 100 agreements with the USSR on the creation of joint ventures. That is practical proof of its trust in the USSR's policy of renewal.

The participants in the ceremony viewed the restored "Savoy." Since the building is in a historical conservation zone, the partners did everything possible to preserve the outward appearance and interior of a valuable architectural monument. Specialists from Yugoslavia were enlisted to the restoration work. This has not, however, prevented them from providing the hotel with modern equipment and from providing various services which make it possible to give the "Savoy" an international four-star rating.

The renovated hotel is designed mainly for the work and leisure of foreign businessmen. Talks and audiovisual presentations can conveniently be held in the specially equipped business center and from here it is easy to liaise with the world's major stock exchanges.

In the restaurant and bars it is possible to try Russian, Scandinavian, and international cuisine; in the "Boutique" store it is possible to acquire various goods and souvenirs. If guests so desire, the pictures by Soviet artists displayed in the lobbies and rooms can be bought for foreign currency.

"Infa-otel" will provide foreign guests with various tourist services, including visits to other cities of the USSR.

Latin America & Caribbean

Official on Halt to USSR-Nicaraguan Arms Trade

LD1010153689 Moscow TASS in English
1521 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The Soviet Union's decision, reached by arrangement with the Nicaraguan Government, to suspend its arms deliveries to the country is a goodwill gesture, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said here today.

Yan Burlyai, deputy head of the Ministry's Latin America Directorate, told newsmen that the USSR's aim "is to facilitate through practical actions the observance by all Central American countries of the agreements elaborated by the presidents of these states, create a favourable climate for the earliest settlement of the conflict and reduce tensions in the region."

The official said that no specific conditions for the termination of the decision had been elaborated. "Naturally, the sides will be guided by concrete conditions and developments in Latin America," he added.

Burlyai rejected Western press allegations that the two countries have curtailed trade and economic relations. "Trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua is determined by our five-year plans," he said. Next year Soviet deliveries of machinery, equipment and raw materials will remain roughly at this year's mark fixed by corresponding intergovernmental agreements.

In 1988, the last year for which complete statistics are available, the deliveries of Soviet commodities to Nicaragua under easy-term credits amounted to 240 million roubles.

On the recent visit to Nicaragua by Eduard Shevardnadze, Burlyai observed that the Soviet foreign minister and Nicaraguan leaders examined prospects for continued trade and economic cooperation.

They gave much attention to the search for new forms of cooperation and opportunities for establishing joint and mixed ventures through the use of Soviet raw materials and the subsequent import of manufactured products into the USSR or neighbouring countries.

"There are a whole number of interesting proposals on this account, and they are being actively studied," Burlyai said.

Situation in Panama Following Coup Attempt Viewed

PM0710142089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Oct 89 First Edition p 7

[Roundup of TASS reports: "Situation in Panama"]

[Text] Panama, 5 Oct—The domestic political situation in Panama 24 hours after the failed attempted rebellion by a group of officers is outwardly calm. However, reinforced detachments of police and special troops patrol the capital's streets and a curfew is still in force.

A communique from the general staff of the National Defense Forces reports that in the course of combat operations 10 rebels were killed, among them Major Moises Giraldi, commander of the Urraca company and the actual leader of the putsch.

The local press is publishing telegrams and statements from various social and trade union organizations and parties in support of General Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces. A demonstration by many thousands of supporters of the provisional government and the military leadership was held in the capital. The demonstrators demanded severe punishment for the perpetrators of the putsch and the removal of the U.S. Southern Command from the republic's territory.

New York, 5 Oct—Francisco Rodriguez, provisional president of Panama, stated that various proofs exist of U.S. assistance to the rebels who tried to carry out a coup in the country. At a press conference at the United Nations on Wednesday, he stated that immediately before the start of the putsch subunits of the U.S. Armed Forces in Panama blocked the main transport routes leading to the headquarters of the National Defense Forces, and thereby gave support to the rebels.

Washington, 5 Oct—In an interview for CBS Television U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney rejected General Noriega's claims that the United States was involved in the attempted military putsch in Panama. However, he

admitted that American troops were "patrolling" a number of Panamanian roads, adding that this was taking place in the course of "previously planned exercises."

According to Cheney the United States did not support the putschists because their leader did not inspire confidence, and secondly there were fears that "the rebellion could have been staged with the intention of dragging the United States into a conflict and then presenting evidence of American aggression to the world."

U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker stated at hearings in the Senate that the United States retains the right to use military force against Panama. This possibility has never been ruled out, he noted. Baker once again called the Panama Government an "unlawful regime," and stated that the United States will continue to put pressure on General Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, to renounce power.

Havana, 5 Oct—Panama, which is living through a decisive period in its history, now faces a choice: either become a free and independent state, or remain a colony, suffering humiliation and injury to national dignity, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of Panama's National Defense Forces, stated in an interview for PRENSA LATINA. He noted that in the last 2 years his country has been the target of economic, psychological, and military pressure from the U.S. Administration. This is because Panama intends to regain full sovereignty.

Commentary Examines Latin American Foreign Debt

PY0410133889 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Will Latin American countries manage to resolve their foreign debt problem? If so, when and how will they pay? These and other similar questions concern specialist (Oleg Gofif), as well as many ordinary people. Today, we will hear the opinion of Soviet economist (Oleg Shinov).

The foreign debt problem affects the majority of Latin Americans who feel the burden of this debt. This is understandable. The acute lack of resources with which to pay the debt has caused the abrupt reduction of allocations, which were already insignificant, for social programs. According to 1980 UN statistics there were nearly 120 million people poor people in Latin America. In less than a decade, that number has increased to narly 160 million. All attempts to resolve the problem, particularly the Baker Plan and the numerous bilateral and multilateral talks between debtors and creditors, have not worked. Indeed, the situation continues to worsen: The external debt and its servicing continue to rise.

In my opinion the foreign debt volumes are being reevaluated by some Latin American countries. The hopes laid on the goodwill of the West, which was expressed but not yet demonstrated, have gradually disappeared. In was not by chance that Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez recently recognized that a miracle cannot be expected in the talks on possible solutions to the foreign debt. The conviction strengthens that the solution to the problem, which is vitally important for the continent, cannot be left in the hands of the West. Strenuous efforts are necessary on the part of the Latin American countries to obtain more positive results from the talks with financial international organizations and private creditors. There have been some sporadic efforts aimed at obtaining those results, however, it is perhaps premature considering that some of the Latin American debtors have not yet lost hope, if not to solve, at least to improve the bilateral talks with the creditors. To sum up: The problem is one of mutual complicity. The practical situation [words indistinct] through a sensible compromise between the interested parties.

Commentator on Peace Efforts in El Salvador

PY0410135489 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Commentary by Leonid Levchenko]

[Text] The second round of talks to seek a political solution in El Salvador will be held in about 2-weeks time. The new meeting between representatives of the FMLN and the Salvadoran Government will take place in Costa Rica. The meeting will be attended by observers of the Salvadoran Catholic Church, and by UN and OAS delegates.

Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani, speaking before the UN General Assembly, announced that he intends to offer a final cessation of hostilities to the guerrilla forces in order to attain a national reconciliation. However, the situation is still quite complicated. Our colleague Leonid Levchenko will make some observations:

[Begin Levchenko recording] The first round of talks held in Mexico gave rise to hopes that the final objective will be successfully attained. The participants then signed an agreement that laid the foundations for further talks. These talks are necessary in view of the situation prevailing in El Salvador. The FMLN delegation laid on the negotiation table its proposals to stop the war through a political arrangement. Among these proposals, measures were suggested to stop arrests in the country and to grant equal democratic rights and freedom to everyone. The implementation of these measures should be supervised by the OAS.

An important point in those proposals refers to the army. The rebels have been invited to compile and sign a special agreement on the creation of a national army which would gradually be reduced to a level necessary to defend national sovereignty. Currently, the Salvadoran Army is engaged in punitive actions against the people. The rebels have also proposed a constitutional reform, and the FMLN has declared that it is willing to become part of the political activities by becoming a political party.

As for the cease-fire unilaterally declared by the FMLN, it was expected that the Salvadoran Armed Forces and the government would respond to the goodwill gesture made by the rebels. The armed forces, however, simply took advantage of the FMLN initiative to unleash repressive actions against the country's peaceful population. It is deplorable that the U.S. Government should continue to allocate millions of dollars to military assistance to El Salvador, thus giving the green light to the Salvadoran Army operations, impairing the development of a peaceful process in the country. [end recording]

That was a commentary by our colleague Leonid Levchenko.

The dialogue between the opposition parties in El Salvador can yield desirable results, on condition that the participants demonstrate the ability to comprise and the disposition to take the country's interests into consideration. In this way it will be possible to have reciprocal patience, to renounce the ultimatums, and to practice moderation.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-Castro Talks

PM0910143989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 October 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS report on Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with Fidel Castro in Havana. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Exchange of Opinions," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service item in Russian headlined "Shevardnadze, Castro Hold 'Thorough' Talks," published in the 6 October issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 34-35, reveals the following variations:

Page 35, column one, first paragraph, sole sentence PRAVDA reads: ...of switching over from confrontation to cooperation... (supplying)

Page 35, column one, paragraph five, sentence two PRAVDA reads...other Nicaraguan leaders. Stress was placed on the invariable nature of the principled Soviet and Cuban approach to solving the Central American conflict, which is based on consideration of... (picking up sentence three, retranslating).

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on USSR Supreme Soviet Session 9 Oct

Draft Law on Labor Disputes Considered

PM1110100189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Morning Edition p1

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents A. Davydov, A. Stepovoy report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Considering the Voters' Opinion"]

[Text] On Monday, 9 October the USSR Supreme Soviet session continued its work. The following drafts were submitted to the joint sitting of the two chambers: of a law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes (conflicts); of a resolution on additional measures to stabilize retail prices and improve the setting of prices for basic foodstuffs and industrial goods determining the consumer budget; of a law on regulating the trading and purchasing activities of cooperatives and the setting of prices for goods (services) sold by cooperatives to the population; and of a law on the general principles for leadership of the economic and social spheres in the union republics.

The chairman of the sitting, M.S. Gorbachev, gave the floor to N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, to present a report on the first question. As is well known, the draft law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes was given its first reading at one of the recent sittings of the Supreme Soviet. Considering the socioeconomic importance and relevance of the measure being adopted, in the course of the discussion deputies offered a whole series of proposals and recommendations. The participants in the sitting insisted that the preparation of the draft law not be postponed and that its text be elaborated without delay on the basis of the discussion and resubmitted to a joint sitting of the two chambers in the immediate future.

The job of analyzing and generalizing the amendments proposed by deputies—and there are about 50 of them in all—was entrusted to the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions. N.N. Gritsenko told the participants in the sitting that, assisted by a broad circle of specialists, the members of the commission had carried out an expert analysis of deputies' observations and proposals in an extremely short space of time—just 3 days—and that the commission had reached specific conclusions on each of the observations and proposals, which it had brought to the attention of the Supreme Soviet. In addition to this, it had also analyzed a vast amount of mail, telegrams, and appeals from citizens in connection with the draft law. Valuable suggestions had been taken into account.

N.N. Gritsenko noted that it is very important for deputies to periodically read mail from the electorate. The commission has submitted the proposal to set up an information board in the Supreme Soviet building, where roundups of letters sent to the session, committees, and commissions will be permanently posted. With regard to the draft being discussed today, the chairman of the commission said, judging by the numerous letters we have received, this measure is being greeted with broad approval among the working people. They are suggesting that this law be adopted right now, before the collective contract campaign actually starts, in order to consolidate the demands of labor collectives in collective contracts in good time.

Having heard the report by N.N. Gritsenko, deputies began the second reading of the draft law, examining it item by item. From the very start of this procedure, it was obvious that the Supreme Soviet was quite critical of the amendments proposed by deputies regarding supplementing or changing articles of the draft law. The overwhelming majority of the observations and recommendations made at the last sitting were turned down. These included, in particular, clarification of the funds which a labor collective may use during strike action; the amendment concerned with the fact that the trade union committee should have the exclusive right to lead strike action; the amendment concerned with the fact that it would be advisable to take legal action to penalize those who coerce others to take part in strikes; and others. However, the fact that these proposals were not adopted does not mean that they will not be considered. Deputies reached the conclusion that amendments containing useful recommendations on improving legislation must be sent to the appropriate committees and commissions for further consideration.

The following question arose during the discussion: What should be taken as the basis when approving the law—the quorum of the listed members of the two chambers or the number of those present in the hall during the sitting? Deputies concluded that the constitutional requirement envisaging majority approval of any law by the listed members of the two chambers must be taken as the strict rule in this respect.

The session is continuing its discussion of the approved agenda.

Reportage on USSR Supreme Soviet 10 Oct

Discusses Inflation

LD1010135189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 10 October broadcasts a 17-minute report by Andrey Nikiforov on the 10 October proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin. Nikiforov notes that the session discussed supplementary measures to stabilize retail prices and improve price formation for food and industrial goods.

The report includes a 5-minute excerpt of remarks by Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the All-Union Central

Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], who says inter alia: "In reality this time we have two alternative drafts. There is the draft prepared by the Commission of the Soviet of the Union on Issues of labor, prices, and social policy and by the USSR People's Control Committee and the draft prepared by the government. What was the focal point in the first draft which was given out to all of us a week ago? The focal point of it was that in connection with the very serious state of affairs as regards consumer goods and services prices and in connection with the AUCCTU statement on price rises, the shortage of goods, and the standard of living of Soviet people it was proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet, taking into consideration the need to take emergency measures to stabilize prices in the country and eliminate the shortage of several basic essential goods, should propose to our government that the latter should within a 10-day period present the USSR Supreme Soviet with proposals on measures providing for a price freeze on basic foods and industrial goods which determine the consumer budget.

What about the alternative document presented by the government? Its focal point is that the USSR government should over a 10-day period present the USSR Supreme Soviet with proposals—and pay particular attention here—proposals on strengthening control of the balance between the income and expenditure of the population, including measures to stop unfounded price rises for basic foodstuffs and industrial goods. We can understand the reasons which caused the government and the USSR Supreme Soviet to adopt a law on taxation, I would say harsh taxation, of financial payments, and I would say this is an unpopular law in general. We can understand the reasons which required this law to be adopted for the forthcoming 15 months. But the adoption of this law demands the adoption of adequate harsh measures to control state prices for goods and services. In other words we are talking about freezing prices for goods and services which determine the consumer budget over the next 15 months."

Shalayev goes on to remark that without such a freeze, provisions for the less well off would be eroded by price rises, stating that he has data showing that the annual rate of price rises is running at between five and eight percent. Declaring that he finds the government's draft decision unacceptable, he proposes that after the debate both drafts should be put to a vote.

The report then includes a 10-minute recording of remarks by Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, who says inter alia: "The government is ready to accept the instructions of the Supreme Soviet and spend 10 days preparing proposals, perhaps jointly with the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet, resolving the whole range of problems that have built up in this area." He adds that everyone should have a clear understanding of the differences between the two drafts on which they are going to vote. Abalkin says he wants to comment on the draft presented by the government. "Primarily it stresses that the Supreme Soviet considers it necessary to adopt the measures required in accordance with the basic principles of economic reform," he notes. He then expands on the government's wish to make it absolutely clear whether the country is moving toward further deepening of economic reform or whether it is deciding to freeze economic reform for a certain period. He explains that a choice has to be made between the system of contract prices for certain goods which is being introduced and rigid administrative control over prices. If the contract price system is to be retained then how can there be a freeze on retail prices, he asks, without state subsidy? Such subsidies would lead either to an even greater budget deficit or to less funds being allocated for other social and production needs, he points out. some years ago a system of incentives was introduced for production of improved quality consumer goods involving increased prices for innovations, Abalkin notes. This system was abused in certain cases but the underlying principle is a good one, he contends.

Abalkin goes on to say: "The next thing that I want to say—and it is stressed in the government draft—is that we are proposing the adoption of the necessary range of measures aimed at resolving three questions: stabilizing the consumer market; restraining unjustified increases in income; and increasing control over price rises for basic essentials." He cautions against promoting speculation and the underground economy through prohibitive measures, saying The market needs to be balanced. Inflation is caused by two basic factors, he adds, price rises and increases in people's income without enough goods available on the market. The whole picture must be seen in context. At present, he says, the country is considerably ahead of schedule for 1989 in increasing the income of the population but considerably behind schedule for fulfillment of the production plan. In order to stabilize the economy that is the first problem to be tackled. He tells the deputies that if the economy continues to develop as it has been in recent months there can be no stabilization either in the market or in prices. He goes on: "I do not in general like indices showing growth rates and volumes. Assessing their dynamics is complex and they do not always reflect the process. But here is something for you to think about. In September the rate of growth of industrial output by comparison with the same month last year was 0.3 percent. In ten of the 15 Union Republics the volume of production of industrial output was lower than in September last year." Abalkin says this is hardly a recipe for stabilization. He calls on labor collectives to include in their production plans for next year low-priced consumer goods, goods for children and old people. He says the situation is urgent and deserves the appropriate attention.

Nikiforov then reports that the session proceeded to debate the issue, noting that most of those who spoke supported the proposals of the government. He adds that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke at the end of the discussion. Ryzhkov stated the following facts, according to Nikiforov. The income of the population in the 3d quarter of this year

increased by 15.7 percent. At the same time volume of production increased by only one percent. It is evident from these figures that the available money is not matched by the necessary goods available. Ryzhkov therefore proposed that there should be no undue haste and that there should be joint work with the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees carefully to come up with a text of the proposed decision in order for it to be presented for examination later at the evening session on 10 October.

Moscow Radio on 10 Oct Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1500 GMT

LD1010173489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 10 October begins broadcasting a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet Session of 10 October at the Kremlin in Moscow. The session is chaired by First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov, who opens the joint session of the chambers, declaring that there is a quorum. The Council of Ministers has prepared a draft decision on additional measures to stabilize retail prices and to improve price formation, he says, adding that the deputies have copies of the decision.

At 1503 Deputy Zhuravlev says he believes that a simple price freeze does not solve the problem and could even make it worse. Care is needed when making adjustments to prices so that distortions do not arise, he urges. Holding back prices will hold back the profits of enterprises. He appeals for commonsense when dealing with the prices issue.

At 1511 Stepan Shalayev, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), describes the differences between the two alternative documents presented to deputies. Without a freeze, Shalayev says, price rises would erode measures to help the less well-off. The government's draft decision is unacceptable, he says, and suggests both drafts be put to a vote.

At 1516 Deputy Premier Leonid Abalkin says the government is prepared to spend 10 days preparing proposals on the whole range of issues. It should be made clear whether the economic reform is being continued or frozen. If the contract price system is being retained, how can there be a freeze on retail prices, he asks. Prohibitive measures should not be allowed to encourage speculation. A major element in inflation is pay increases not backed up by goods on the market. Labor collectives should plan for making low-priced consumer goods, he remarks.

At 1529 Deputy Ubaydullayeva says that a very important issue is being debated and that a comprehensive approach is needed. She says that increased cash for the Uzbek cotton industry is merely a true reflection of cotton-workers' toil.

At 1538 Deputy Samarin says that the measures to be adopted should not wreck the economic reform in general. Deputy Podziruk makes a procedural point.

At 1541 Deputy Kirilov recommends that state subsidies be removed from loss-making enterprises, that monopoly prices be abolished, and that competition be introduced. There is a slight commotion in the hall.

At 1545 deputy Bronshteyn backs the government position as set out be Abalkin and notes the situation is serious. Measures designed to court short-term public popularity should not be attempted, he says.

If the ruble continues to fall, "national currencies" will start emerging, he warns.

At 1551 Deputy Saunin says strong measures are needed to stabilize prices. The U.S. economy shows that temporary freezes do work. The way out lies in the development of a contractual price system, he says, adding his support for the AUCCTU plan.

At 1554 Deputy Gritsenko notes that pay has been running ahead of production. He says since the autopilot is not yet functioning properly, let us use manual control. Let us ask commission members to examine the two drafts and work out a final version to be presented at the evening session, he proposes.

At 1601 Deputy Shevchanko backs the government measures as a whole but adds there should be maximum material and technical backup for enterprises making consumer goods.

At 1608 Deputy Burlatskiy states: The decision to be adopted should not be hasty. The government draft is fine in general, but there is a contradiction in it: Are we going to regulate prices sensibly, or are we going to take hasty and drastic measures? A differentiated approahch to prices is needed, he argues.

At 1612 Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov concludes the debate by saying it is topical and controversial matter. Neither rigid regulation nor full deregulation are acceptable; the truth lies in between. He proposes taking a comrpehensive view and that there be some more work on the draft.

At 1621 Lukyanov takes a vote on ending the debate, which is passed. He asks for a vote on whether a group of deputies should do some more work on the draft and report back at 1600. This is passed.

1625 GMT

LD1010183189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1625 GMT on 10 October continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session. Lukyanov says that a draft decision on trade and procurement activities of cooperatives and pricing for goods and services provided by cooperatives is in the deputies' possession.

At 1626 Deputy Sobchak says different sets of prices apply to cooperatives and in certain cases cooperatives can charge contractual prices. If today's draft is adopted, there will be a new need to bring the law on cooperatives into line with the new measures. He gives facts and figures for a number of cooperatives in existence. He suggests a change to point No 2 in the draft decision placing a 20-percent limit on cooperatives' price margins above state prices. Major changes to the law on cooperatives are planned. The present decision should not be passed at this time but should be sent to the committees for further revision, he says.

At 1640 Deputy Miroshin says not enough time has been provided for a study of the documents and he wants the debate suspended.

At 1642 Lukyanov reminds deputies that the commissions have done a lot of work, and that the deputies were invited to take part in the discussions.

At 1643 Deputy Kravchenko makes a brief intervention. Deputy Smirnov says that copies of the draft decision were received only yesterday, so he suggests postponing the debate to 16 October. Another deputy cites Sobchak to the effect that the decision contradicts the law on cooperatives. Thus, the law has to be changed first. An unidentified deputy says he is worried about the attack on the proposed document. Deputy Stepanov says any change to the law on cooperatives would be a very lengthy process. Deputy Golik wants the draft to go back to the commissions. An unidentified speaker suggests giving the draft a first reading today and calls for less emotion. Another unidentified speaker says the document has already had a first reading.

At 1653 Lukyanov asks for a vote on whether the document should be debated today. This is passed. There is then an interval.

At 1655 the recording of the session resumes.

At 1656 First Deputy Premier Lev Voronin delivers a report on rail traffic between Armenia and Azerbaijan. More than 1,700 railcars were brought into Armenia yesterday. Armenia's fuel requirements can be met in the near future. The fuel situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is particularly difficult, he says, adding, that supplies are being airlifted in.

At 1704 deputies adopt a resolution.

At 1705 an unidentified deputy says he wants concrete decisions on the cooperatives issues today. Deputy Yefimov says he backs genuine cooperatives, but trade and procurement cooperatives should be banned. Deputy Tikhonov says that there must be effective measures against speculation, but nothing much has been done to this end. There is speculation in the national economy as a whole. He asks: How can you have a market system without trade capital? Lenin himself saw that market forces could be controlled by a monopolist state. He urges the creation of an effecitve system of measures to combat speculation.

At 1708 Shalayev says the trade unions back cooperatives that have proved their worth by proving useful goods at accessible prices, but he suggests amendments to a paragraph about reregistration of cooperatives and to a paragraph about excessive cooperative prices, with local soviets being able to intervene. He suggests some other rewordings.

At 1726 A very brief intervention by Deputy Auyelbekov is followed by those of Deputies Palagnyuk and Yarin on excessive cooperative prices and the need to tell people the facts about what the cooperatives are doing.

At 1736 Deputy Bogdanov makes a number of points about specific measures in the document.

At 1740 Deputy Lushnikov refers deputies to what the constitution has to say about the requirement for deputies to be guided by general state interests. A law-governed state presupposes law-governed methods. The document should only be adopted in conjunction with a new law on cooperatives. All this emotion is not the proper way, he says.

At 1745 Deputy Kryzhkov says the cooperatives have from the start been given excellent opportunities for earning super-profits.

At 1749 Deputy Kalmykov says he believes it is right that trade and procurement cooperatives should be retained for the agrarian sphere.

1752 GMT

LD1010195189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1752 GMT on 10 October continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session. Lukyanov reads some written comments from deputies on how to proceed with the debate.

At 1753 Deputy Orlov says he wants "and enterprises" to be added to a specific sentence in the document, and he makes other specific comments.

At 1756 Andrey Dmitriyevich (possibly Sakharov) cautions against creating an atmosphere of uncertainty, particularly at a time when people are going to be considering whether to opt for leasing. The cooperatives are not to blame for the country's problems, he says. This is followed by brief interventions.

At 1759 Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev says we must have unshakeable laws. The Supreme Soviet should speak out in favor of a strong and effective cooperative system. He proposes a four-point plan of amendments to draft on cooperatives, which is adopted as a basis for debate. The session adjourns.

At 1815 the recording of the session resumes. Lukyanov asks the deputies to register: 425 members of the

Supreme Soviet are taking part, so there is a quorum. The first question for debate is a resolution on additional measures for stabilizing prices and pricing food and basic products. A commission led by Gritsenko is ready to report.

At 1816 Gritsenko reports that the commission examined all proposals and proposes resolutions on price control. Deputies vote for Gritsenko's proposals taking into account other proposals; none against; 15 abstentions.

At 1826 the next resolution is on putting order into cooperative activity and pricing which Alekseyev explains. Six points are proposed. Burachas makes remarks about cooperatives, speculation, question of liquidation of cooperatives, and the exclusion of many categories of workers from participation in cooperatives after work, which he believes is unjustified.

At 1834 an unidentified deputy talks about distortions in cooperative work, exclusion of some workers from cooperatives, and protectionism. He proposes that deputies be excluded. Khmura makes a point and is told by Lukyanov it has nothing to do with the draft. Krivenko speaks on cooperatives. Another deputy talks about the question of closure of certain cooperatives; speculative ones should be closed.

At 1845 Demidov proposes a point on action against cooperatives for overcharging. An unidentified deputy asks if the opinion of millions of trade union members has been taken into account about the closure of cooperatives which are speculative or which perform the job of middle men. She is told it has been taken into account in point 1. Another deputy proposes confiscation of part of the income of cooperatives obtained in conditions of shortages. Another deputy speaks about produce rotting, and of the task of trade to improve distribution.

At 1901 Lukyanov intervenes and asks that voting on Alekseyev's proposal be carried out today. He then asks for an opinion on Ivashko's proposal.

At 1905 Lukyanov asks Alekseyev how he feels about adopting the proposal at the next session, and he agrees.

At 1906 an unidentified deputy talks about profiteering among cooperatives. (?Lukyanov) says profiteers must answer before the law.

At 1908 Lukyanov asks for votes on the proposal of Deputy Ivashko and if any one insists that it be adopted today. An unidentified deputy says the decision should be made now because amendments have already been made and it cannot be postponed for another week.

At 1910 Lukyanov says the discussion is finished. He reminds the deputies of the clauses under discussion and the amendments being introduced. Suggestions are shouted indistinctly from the auditorium. He asks for votes for the proposal with amendments. There are 213 in favor. A vote by name is then carried out; 397 are registered for the vote. Lukyanov reminds deputies what they are voting for and says that the list of deputies who have voted for voting by name should be published in the bulletin.

At 1919 voting takes place. The decision is adopted and (?Lukyanov) says a more serious attitude needs to be adopted toward voting by name.

1920 GMT

LD1010213589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1920 GMT on 10 October continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session. The next point on the agenda is the draft proposed by the Council of Ministers on the regulation of the economy, which is pesented by Abalkin.

He introduces the report for the self-financing of the economy, outlining the history of the draft law and the need for it. Some 3,500 proposals and observations were taken into consideration in the draft law being presented for discussion, so it represents collective thinking.

He then broaches basic questions outlined in the document. He says the draft law needs to be examined with the other draft laws discussed because they are complementary. They transition to self-financing is complex, he states, warning against illusions, euphoria, and thinking that things will improve immediately. He says no republic can reckon on additional resources. He says deputies must realize that this is only the first step. The conditions are not ripe for the independence of enterprise.

Abalkin examines the key points of the draft. He stresses the general interests which stem from the cohesion of a federation of states, such as the USSR. He notes the link between the individual elements and the whole union. He speaks of the integral nature of the economy of the USSR, noting that key sectors of the economy in developed countries are mainly under the control of the government. He notes the criticism directed toward the center in the discussion of the drafts and says that it was justified in many cases, blaming it on the deformations of the past. The USSR Supreme Soviet fulfills the role of center today and it is called upon to carry out general guidance. He says the function of regulation should remain with the center. He dwells on the correlation of central and regional ministries. He says there will be a 6-8-fold increase in production and a 70 percent increase in agricultural output at the regional level. He also speaks of the planning mechanism as far as state orders are concerned.

At 1950 lukyanov says he thinks the whole report will be included in the bulletin.

AT 1952 Abalkin says by 1990 the Baltic and Belorussian states will determine the structure of production. Article 17 limits the activity in capital investment of the union republics. He speaks of how the budget of the republics and of the union republic will be formed and

the role of taxation in that. He talks of measures to strengthen the foreign economic ties of republics and notes there are 9,000 enterprises in the country with such ties and mentions other such organizations and their rights. He outlines the demands made by GATT. A republic can independently form a foreign economic trade organization. He notes other rights enjoyed by republics under the draft.

Abalkin says there is a need to define a number of the points in the draft and to bring them into line with the law on property. The rights and sovereignty of the autonomous republics will have to be examined more deeply. The new relations are exacerbating problems which used to be in the shadows.

At 2004 he then talks of the need for regulating the delivery of supplies and notes that many republics are not fulfilling their commitments. He says strict sanctions are needed to ensure responsibility for commitments undertaken. In Belorussia a number of enterprises appealed to the Council of Ministers complaining of being given over to republican subordination. Another problem is the republic's choice of financial autonomy.

Taking all this into account, he says, the government asks that the draft be adopted at the first reading. Abalkin outlines what the benefits of the adoption of this draft would be. The government would hope to present the elaborated form of the draft by 1 November, he says in conclusion.

At 2010 Lukyanov says that is the end until 1000 on 16 October.

Supreme Soviet Continues Debates, Speeches 10 Oct

Ryzhkov Discusses Price Formation

LD1010140389 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today in the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputies are discussing a draft resolution which would assign the USSR Council of Ministers to elaborate a package of appropriate measures to combat inflation and stabilise the consumer market.

A keen discussion developed at the session regarding the wording of the assignment. This issue affects the interests of all sections of the country's population.

Two versions of the assignment to the government were presented for deputies' consideration. One was drafted by the commission on labour, prices, and social policy of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, and the other by the Soviet Government itself.

The draft suggested by the parliamentary commission deals with 'freezing' prices of staple foods and manufactured goods while the government-suggested version speaks of the need to enhance control over the balance between money incomes and expenditure of the population, including measures to stop unjustified increases in prices.

Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, insisted on a price freeze, arguing that the resolution, adopted at the Supreme Soviet session in summer, about progressive taxation on wage growth at state-run enterprises, requires tough control over retail prices of goods and service rates which determine the consumer budget.

The government intends to take steps to stabilise prices in accordance with the basic principles of the economic reform, gradually developing market relations, USSR Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin pointed out.

In this connection it is suggested that a package of measures be elaborated to stabilise the consumer market, to curb unjustified growth of money incomes, and to enhance control over increases in the prices of prime necessities.

Deputy Vladimir Kirillov from Voronezh supported the government- suggested version of the assignment, emphasising that a price freeze as an administrative way of solving the problem is pointless notwithstanding its seemingly attractive qualities.

The natural striving of enterprises for maximum profit cannot be suppressed, he said.

In an estimate of the discussion which developed at the session, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out that, as far as the price formation issue is concerned, the government is criticised from two sides.

Some people insist that market relations be given full play while others demand that they be frozen.

Both ways are unacceptable, Ryzkhov said. If one orients oneself only to supply and demand, he said, this would lead now to uncontrolled inflation.

The opposite solution would undermine the foundations of economic reform. State regulation of prices should be preserved at this stage and at the same time contract prices regulated by the market should be applied, he believes.

Ryzhkov disagreed with the stand of the leader of the country's trade unions who believes that a wage freeze should be necessarily followed by a freeze on the prices of all consumer goods.

He recalled that the population's incomes grew by 12.3 percent over the past nine months of this year as compared with the corresponding period of last year and by 15.7 per cent over the latest quarter (July-September).

At the same time the growth of marketable products in the third quarter amounted to one percent. "Considering

this gap between incomes and output, it is impossible to balance the market," Ryzhkov said.

During the discussion it was suggested that the parliamentary commission, with the government, work out a single document and submit it to the deputies at the evening meeting.

Ryzhkov Speech Broadcast

LD1010213689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1612 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 10 October at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the matter under discussion today is one of the most topical and acute issues that exist in our society today. So I can understand the discussion that has evolved today, although I understand that the problem was that we should today formulate our instructions to the government—and I think not just to the government, but also to the relevant Supreme Soviet committees and commissions—that measures relating to this problem should be elaborated within a given period of time.

As far as the substance of the question of pricing is concerned, here, of course, there exist many opinions and positions, but I would say there are basically two diametrically opposite positions. There is criticism from both the left and right. So the government is being criticized from all sides. Some insist that in the field of pricing we should give full freedom to market relations and only in this do they see the possibility of getting out of the complex financial and economic situation which exists in the country. And the other side says that you have to put the brake on everything, you don't need any market relations, you need to put everything into a rigid state, and then we shall live normally. That is the situation that is taking shape, and I must today express the opinion of the government on the said question.

I consider that neither the one nor the other proposal—that is how it is formulated—is acceptable either today or here or in society. If we orient ourselves only to market relations, only to the relationships of supply and demand, I am convinced that in the economic environment which there is today in our country, when there operates monopolism, when there is no competition, when the consumer market is not satisfied, we today will create such a surge of inflation as will not be counted in percentages, not 2 percent or 5 percent. One can dispute today what percentage of inflation, one would have to sit down at the table and calculate it. It will be in multiples. It will be in multiples of tens. And we have other countries bitter experiences. When it gets out of control you get very high inflation. All this will definitely affect the well-being of the low-paid people, retirees. Therefore, in my view, to go on a broad front in the present situation to market relations alone, I consider this a very dangerous act.

Second, should we today make the decision to freeze everything, to permit no movement to left or right? I think this is also an extreme position. It is not acceptable. If today we make such a decision, in the first place we will really undermine the foundations of economic reform. Each enterprise is both a producer and a consumer. That is the law. In the final count all this leads to the people. Therefore, in our view, at the present stage of development of our country and development of the economy, we consider that there should be, initially really, state regulation of prices which will enable us to maintain them at a certain level but at the same time providing an opportunity to labor collectives, where necessary, to have contractual prices and other prices which will be able to be regulated by market relations to some degree also.

Therefore, our position is that this question needs to be approached carefully, very carefully, and so I adhere to the opinion which some comrades expressed. Comrade Abalkin in his speech here said it was necessary to approach this question's solution in a comprehensive manner. One must not single out one question, just the prices of certain types of output. Let's sit down and find out once and for all what is happening in the country, what decisions have to be made. We are in favor of protecting certain social strata of our society. I am for this. So let's do it in a comprehensive manner. In fact, comrades here have been proposing that perhaps one should amend slightly the government's version, remove the unjustified growth in prices. But I, for example, consider that the version which we have proposed is more comprehensive and enables us to see this problem in total cross-section.

Today we are worried about suggesting the word "freeze," let us be clear: On what types of production? I am convinced that for certain types, especially food products we must really say that they should be frozen and not touched. But where is the border line of prime necessity? There are very many shifting concepts here. So, let's sit down and determine what types of product can be frozen and what types should be given the opportunity for the quality of consumer goods to grow. Today we could make such a decision to the effect that we will not make any new models, we will not make any new equipment, because it would all be frozen.

Comrades, the last thing: I should like—in confirmation of the fact that we consider it should be looked at comprehensively—this question, that is to say, comrades, that whatever we may say here, whatever decisions we may make, if the economic situation in the country shapes up as it is today, we will not solve the problem. What is being done today? Here comrades have been advocating the first proposal, saying let's freeze them because wages have been frozen.

I should like to bring to the notice of the people's deputies the real state-of-affairs as of this morning. What is the state-of-affairs with the population's incomes?

In the first 9 months the population's incomes have increased within the country by 12.3 percent. We have never had such incomes. If you take the last quarter, July to September of this year, the incomes of blue and white collar workers were 9.3 percent higher.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 10 October carries a shorter recording of Rykhov's statement which renders the preceding paragraph on incomes as follows: "If you take the last quarter, July-September of this year, incomes have grown by 15.7 percent 15.7, including—I am taking only the last quarter, the third—the incomes of blue and white collar workers, by 9.3 percent, cooperatives, by 3.8 times, times. [murmuring in hall] Yes. Further, incomes of collective and state farms, by 111 percent and so on."]

That, comrades, is what is really happening in our country. For this reason we are not in favor of limiting income. However, when we say that the growth in production amounted to only 1 percent in the 3d quarter, let us think about these figures. [Moscow domestic 101200 version adds: "One percent growth in production in the country, and 15 percent growth in earnings, in income."] Are we really capable of regulating these processes? For this reason I consider that we have no grounds for stating this opinion that earnings have been frozen, that all incomes have been frozen. We need to bring it into line. We are not against people earning any sum, but let there be a product for every ruble that is earned. However, when this difference is 1 of a factor of 15, you yourselves can understand that it is impossible to balance the market.

Incidentally, the growth in agricultural products for the market amounts to only 1 percent for the 3d quarter. It is thus possible to judge, as they say, the extent to which our consumer market is balanced. And the final point is this. I agree with, and should like you to support, Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy's proposal. It is a fact that today's discussion itself shows how complex this matter is. And I think that 10 days—whatever formula the Supreme Soviet adopts today—is too little. Let's work 20 days, let's work a month. I would ask that not only should the Council of Ministers be doing supplementary work, but one has to sit down with the committees. It is a very serious question. In the course of a month let us really elaborate very major measures, both in the field of pricing and examining incomes, how things balance, and so on. Then let's present it to the Supreme Soviet. Then we can discuss it thoroughly and adopt the relevant decision. I would ask you to support such formulations, and, secondly, really to provide more opportunities as far as time is concerned to go into the matter in greater depth.

Soviet Parliament Addresses Cooperatives

LD1010164189 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The future of controversial trading and middleman cooperatives, the activity of which is regarded by many in the Soviet Union as legalised profiteering, was discussed by the Soviet parliament today.

Earlier in the session a group of deputies proposed closing down all trading and middleman cooperatives all over the country.

A similar demand had been made by the Central Trade Union Council.

This stance reflects the population's growing displeasure with some aspects of the cooperative movement.

The parliament, however, mindful of the importance of promoting cooperation as a new form of economic activity in the USSR, preferred not to take a decision at that time and handed over the proposal to its standing committees and commissions.

In today's debate, deputies expressed varying, at times opposite, viewponts: from demands to close down cooperatives immediately to proposals for removing the issue from the agenda.

The debates, reflecting society's mixed attitudes towards cooperatives, were so lively at times that it was necessary to remind deputies of the need to observe parliamentary culture.

At the evening sitting, the deputies reached agreement on some clauses that are to enter the Supreme Soviet's resolution.

These clauses express the parliament's determination to promote civilised cooperation and provide for a ban on speculative trading and tougher financial control over the activity of cooperatives.

It is also proposed that senior officials of the state apparatus and public organisations not be allowed to work in cooperatives.

The resolution, pending additional editing, will be submitted for consideration to parliament next week.

Sobchak on AUCCTU Cooperatives Proposals

LD1010233189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1626 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Speech by Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, chairman of a subcommission, at the Supreme Soviet session on 10 October in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairing the session] As you recall, in keeping with the decision first of all of the

Supreme Soviet Presidium of 21 September, the relevant commissions and committees were charged with studying the problems posed in the statement of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] on the distortion of the cooperative movement. We discussed that question thoroughly at our first sittings and gave the relevant commission to our Committee on Legislation. The Committee on Legislation also examined that question very thoroughly, as far as I know, with the involvement of deputies from other commissions. Now it has presented for our examination a draft resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the regulation of trade and procurement activities of cooperatives and on price formation for goods and services carried out by cooperatives for the population. You have the draft, as far as I know. The floor is given to Comrade Sobchak, chairman of the subcommission on that question. You have the draft.

[Sobchak] Esteemed comrade deputies, I will remind you that in keeping with the commission, the question was posed of the regulation of trade and procurement activities of cooperatives and of the adoption of measures on not permitting further distortions in this sphere. In the draft presented to you, formulated on the one hand are those proposals which were submitted to the Supreme Soviet by the AUCCTU and a group of deputies, and also on a number of questions, alternative proposals of the Committee on Legislation, agreed with the Supreme Soviet Committee on Economic Reform. You have all these proposals, and this I would like to dwell on the examination of what caused those alternative questions to be asked and the elucidation of what the essence of the alternative is.

Well, on the whole, in the drafts proposed for your attention point No 2 has been formulated as prohibitory. It states that cooperatives which are not part of the system of consumer cooperation are to be forbidden to carry out in principle trade and procurement activities. [passage omitted: Sobchak talks of point No 4 and says that this makes an exception to the above; he points out the contradiction inherent in points Nos 2 and 4 and notes point No 2 contradicts the Law on cooperation]

The basic draft of the decision presented to you says cooperatives which are not part of the system of consumer cooperation are to be prohibited. Now, for your information, some figures. On 1 June 1989—I have the figures—in the country there were 856 trade and procurement and 893 trade cooperatives. Employed in them were respectively 70,000 and 10,000 in trade cooperatives; in all 7,749 cooperatives there are 80,000 people employed. What is the volume of the work of trade and procurement cooperatives in the form of receipts from the sale of products and proceeds in the form of income in relationship to the general volume of retail trade turnover? If the retail trade turnover of state cooperative trade, taking account of alcoholic beverages, is R192.2 billion, and without alcoholic beverages is R167.9 billion, then the proceeds of trade and procurement cooperatives ran to, in the first case, 0.6 percent, and in the second case, 0.7 percent, and to the unsatisfied demand of the population for goods and services, approximately, R100 billion, around 1 percent.

Now in particular as regards the quantity of trade and procurement cooperatives which operate under the system of consumer cooperation and which, in the thinking of these drafts we are releasing from these prohibitory, strict measures which it is proposed to introduce. In the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives systems on 1 July 1989 the figures might have changed, but I do not think to any considerable extent—2,092 trade and procurement and procurement cooperatives were registered. 19,382 people work in them. What will happen if we adopt the decision in the form in which it is proposed? We eliminate part of the trade and procurement cooperatives, all which operate outside the boundaries of consumer cooperation and will create favorable conditions for the continuation of that, to a considerable extent, dishonest activity, but already of trade and procurement cooperatives within the framework of consumer cooperation. It is not difficult to foresee what will happen further. All trade and procurement cooperatives closed, so to speak, and operating on their own resources will pass under the wing of consumer cooperation and will continue their activity because no restrictions are envisaged for the sale of the relevant market consumer goods by these trade and procurement cooperatives in that decision. [passage omitted on proposals by the Committee on Legislation and the Committee on Economic Reform on point No 2 and points Nos 4 and 5 to rectify the situation; his committee is working on very serious changes in the law on cooperation; a decision should be taken on who will recompense the cooperatives if they are abolished; many of them have foreign economic links]

Sakharov Proposes Ending Debate on Cooperatives

LD1010225789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1756 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Speech by Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov at the Supreme Soviet session on 10 October in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] I consider that the issue discussed contains a very great danger. This danger consists of the following. We stand on the road of great economic transformations in our country. These transformations are only possible if there is trust in the decisions taken by the legislative bodies of our power. A law on cooperatives has been adopted. Now we are suddenly beginning to submit amendments to it and moreover amendments which are dangerous for the operation of the cooperative system as a whole. [Words indistinct as Sakharov and Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairing the session, speak together] And this is extremely dangerous.

What will a person think now who is prepared to lease land? He thinks, he may think: Now, in our country one law has been adopted, and then a year later the political situation in the country will change and the people will

protest against lessees, that they earn much, and another law will be adopted: so I will not lease money [as heard]. Such instability, to please, in popular propaganda, the propaganda against cooperatives is to a significant extent [word indistinct] and plays extraordinarily on the emotions.

But at the same time the cooperatives are not responsible for the situation in the country. They are only 1 percent...[Lukyanov interrupts: "Andrey Dmitriyeich, what is your proposal?"]

My proposal is that the discussion of this issue be stopped and and that we concern ourselves with more important things, that we concern ourselves with 99 percent of our national economy and not with 1 percent.

Abalkin on Economic Government

LD1010235389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1920 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Speech by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the Supreme Soviet session on 10 October in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We have gradually come to realize the necessity that these principles [of self-financing and financial autonomy] should also be applied in our union republics and autonomous formations. The 19th all-union party conference, with which in fact the elaboration of the appropriate bills began, was a powerful stimulus which prompted the resolution of these issues.

Maybe for the first time in our legislative practice a group was formed of the leaders of the union republics, of union government, scientists, and specialists who over several months elaborated proposals on these issues. They were published, and in April and May there were expert investigations during a nationwide discussion. Some 3,500 proposals and comments were taken into account on the results of this discussion, including those which related not only to the details but to a number of fundamental problems of this document.

So we can say with confidence that the bill which has been submitted for discussion and which was prepared after this discussion is the result of collective reason.

At the same time as the elaboration of the general principles there appeared a number of draft initiatives in which the particular features and uniqueness of separate republics are reflected. I believe that we have to approach this issue properly and consider the drafts indicated not as alternatives which oppose each other, but precisely as draft initiatives which aim to reflect the uniqueness, the diversity of conditions, and the specific nature of the development of separate republics and regions of the country.

At the same time the appearance of these drafts intensified even further the need, in the view of the government, to elaborate general ideas, premises, and principles on the organization of the economic life of the union republics. Apart from this it has to be taken into account that always in the preparation of such documents we have to reflect in them not only the problems of the internal economic development of this or that republic but also the problems of their interaction. The adoption of general principles on the problems of the interaction of various republics is required.

Allow me now to move on to some fundamental issues of the document submitted, and to the approach laid down in it relating to the practical implementation of the ideas of republican financial autonomy. The first thing which I should like to stress is that the document being considered is not an isolated decision but a link, a component, in the overall process of deepening and the further development of the radical economic reform and is one of its most important components.

I believe that this bill has to be considered together with the bills on property, on land and land utilization, on the socialist enterprise, on leasing and leasing relations, and the unified tax system which are today for discussion in the Supreme Soviet, and which form in their entirety, supplementing each other, a legal basis for an integral mechanism for economic management at the present stage.

I believe that an important factor in all these documents is that it [as heard] also contains the basis for the formation of the material economic foundation for self-management for the development of the political reform, and the confirmation of the plenipotentiary power of the soviets at all levels, and a material basis for renewing the federal structure of the Soviet state.

I will say a few words about the concept of financial autonomy itself in these spheres.

Of course, there is possibly no specific meaning to this concept which we have grown accustomed to—this is a new, broader interpretation of the problem. Experience has shown that the transition to financial autonomy is a complex business which commits one to a great deal, and which—I would like to stress especially—does not promise instant benefits. One has to warn, from the very outset, against possible illusions, and at times a kind of euphoria relating to the expectation that from the very moment of transition to the principles of financial autonomy there will be an immediate improvement in the economic and social situation.

That is not so. In the transition to financial autonomy, not a single republic, or not a single region can count on receiving any kind of additional funds or resources. They can be obtained only on condition that they are redistributed—some withdrawn and others transferred. [Under financial autonomy] it is impermissable and illegal to do this. The introduction of financial autonomy itself does not provide any kind of additional resources

except the possibility of earning funds, living on the proceeds of one's labor, and to the extent of one's contribution to increasing society's wealth, and by wisely managing everything which has been produced through the labor of the people. Added to this, the transition to self-management, self-financing and financial autonomy includes full responsibility to the population for resolving economic, social, ecological and other problems; a responsibility which cannot be passed on to this, that or any other person, or to a center which does not provide, allocate or redistribute anything and so on.

Finally in this connection: Both experience and theoretical analysis show that the pyramid of financial autonomy relations can only be stable when it is built on a reliable foundation, on the stable, all-embracing financial autonomy of the basic sectors of the national economy, enterprises and associations, and on the basis of local self-management. Without this financial autonomy cannot function successfully either in the republics or in any region. [passage omitted]

Abalkin Presents Draft Law on Republican Government

LD1010201789 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The report on the draft law on principles of economic and social government in the union republics was made today at the Supreme Soviet session by Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin.

He noted specifically that in working out the draft the government had sought to avoid two extremes—the danger of unwarranted republican isolationism on the one hand and on excessive federal centralisation on the other.

The law aims to rely on economic levers and the introduction of profit-and-loss accounting relations.

Discussing the approach toward the matters of ownership in the draft law, Abalkin pointed to the fact that a federation is unthinkable without some national property, just as the development of a union republic's economy is unimaginable without the recognition of the republic's right to own resources, basic assets and other objects.

Proceeding from this, the draft law provides for the federal management of the basic industries ensuring the stable functioning of the entire national economy, the country's economic independence and the satisfaction of all the republics' demand for products of the fuel-and-energy, metallurgical, chemical, timber and machine- building industries.

At the same time, the draft law provides for a considerable expansion of the economic management rights of every republic, Abalkin stressed. Agricultural enterprises and organisations, distribution networks and construction (apart from that by specialised ministries) will be fully managed by republican authorities.

Besides, a number of enterprises and organisations of the timber, paper-and-pulp, wood-working, construction materials and light industries will also become exclusive republican property.

About 70 per cent of all consumer goods and practically all farm produce will be produced at enterprises subordinated to local and republican authorities.

The republics will handle two thirds of capital investments and dispose of 70 per cent of the total volume of basic economic assets.

Abalkin expressed firm confidence that, in a federal state, the uniform principles of regulating the budget, finance, credit and money systems, taxation, pricing and other fundamental matters must be within the competence of the Supreme Soviet or the Congress of People's Deputies.

From the point of view of domestic economic policy, the speaker said, it is necessary to have a single currency, customs and taxation systems, and to avert exports of goods in amounts detrimental to the domestic market.

Abalkin stressed that the draft law stipulates that every republic may independently establish foreign economic organisations, develop foreign tourism, border trade and decide questions relating to the establishment of foreign firm representation offices, banks and organisations.

On behalf of the government, Abalkin asked parliament to approve the draft law in its first reading and entrust the government with presenting a final version by November 1 taking account of critical remarks and proposals.

The parliament will decide on the issue at its next meeting on October 16.

Starovoytova, Others Cited on Strike Restrictions

PM1010135789 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Oct 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with USSR People's Deputies G. Starovoytova, A. Sakharov, and S. Stankevich by "our correspondent" Ye. Leontyeva under the rubric "Political Commentary": "At the Limit of Extraordinary Measures"; date and place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Today, when the situation in the country is changing literally every day and every hour, the question of anticipating events is an acute one. It is too late to assess them when they have already taken place, although that too is important. It is far more important to predict events, to "play through" their progress, to

know how to paint the possible spectrum of their development. Among the press' tasks this is emerging to the fore this year.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on urgent measures for the uninterrupted backup of the work of rail transport and the base sectors of the national economy. What is the "political scenario" for the development of these measures?—that is the subject of our correspondent's talk with USSR People's Deputies G. Starovoytova, A. Sakharov, and S. Stankevich. [Correspondent] You must agree that a very acute time has come—the government has asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to grant it emergency powers to introduce order immediately in decisive sectors of the national economy. We all know that the situation is indeed grave and in a number of places catastrophic: Hundreds of thousands of cars and maritime and river vessels are not being unloaded, the country s population is failing to receive output worth many billions of rubles, and stocks of coal for power stations and for heating villages and cities are dwindling. The blockade, the transport war are black clouds from Azerbaijan.

Are extraordinary measures necessary? The debate at the joint sitting of the chambers was keen but nonetheless, it seems to me, not thorough enough. Less important questions are debated for far longer and in far greater detail yet after all this question could drastically alter the country's destiny. And even decide whether the Supreme Soviet itself will exist or not. So what is the ultimate goal of the proposed measures? Maintaining stability and the status quo or a more fundamental change in the state of affairs in the country?

[Starovoytova] The status quo today suits no one—that is on the one hand. On the other, I think the proposed measures are not such as to radically change the situation in the country. It is simply not a time when radical changes can be achieved by strong-arm methods. Here I believe that the application of these measures is necessary only in one region, since we have a blockade of one republic by another. Their application on a broader scale is not justified.

[Correspondent] Andrey Dmitriyevich, it seemed to me that it was you who turned the course of discussion of this question at the Supreme Soviet. Let's hear from you.

[Sakharov] I believe that the discussion of this problem in the Supreme Soviet was of an extremely dangerous nature. There was a real danger that in the atmosphere of concern over the events in Azerbaijan and the grave economic situation as a whole extraordinary measures might be taken throughout the country affecting nearly all sectors of the national economy. And for a long term. In my view this could lead to a military coup.

Who was the initiator of these measures is not entirely clear and the mechanism for the appearance of these "ploys" whose result is unpredictable is unknown.

Fortunately, in the course of one night the situation changed—common sense prevailed to some extent. I do not take any special credit although at the time I wrote and sent a personal letter to Gorbachev.

[Correspondent] In the draft submitted the next day the government seemed to renounce extraordinary powers, describing he measures to be introduced as urgent...

[Sakharov] Nonetheless they are not adequate. For instance, the period within which these measures will operate on the main railroad passing through Azerbaijan is not stipulated. The word "blockade" is not used—yet it is the blockade, which has paralyzed life in Armenia and Karabakh, which has caused the main concern among the people's deputies. The resolution contains no political assessment of that phenomenon.

And here's another thing I don't understand.

It is proposed that vestiges of the initially proposed extraordinary measures will operate with regard to the entire country. So what will be done if, for instance, the Vorkuta miners begin their previously agreed strike? What will the authorities' reaction be?

[Stankevich] For me the need for urgent measures in this situation is obvious. It is another matter that emergency powers must not be given to executive power without strict conditions. To wit: It is essential to stipulate the extent to which and the cases in which these powers may be used. And another thing—there is no guarantee of strict parliamentary control over the implementation of extraordinary measures.

That is why the proposal submitted initially—a range of powers of indeterminate extent—was rejected. It was rejected because of the hopes it set on a firm hand, on finding a way out of the crisis with the aid of antidemocratic methods involving pressure. That is obviously not a path along which perestroyka could proceed.

At the same time situations are now arising quite often when a threat appears to the lives and health of thousands and thousands of people. And here delay is literally like death. In particular it is a case of the blockade on transport communications in the Transcaucasus. Here special measures are needed. Moreover, they should have been applied before.

In this connection parliament must adopt the following stance: No indefinite emergency powers, but the immediate and flexible use of power. Here we must in no case turn the whole country into the subject of extraordinary rule.

[Correspondent] And nonetheless what lies behind this very vague definition of "urgent measures?" Why has the term not been decoded? Let us imagine that the miners' strike has really begun. What is to be done? Arrest the strike committees and all those taking part? Take administrative measures? Deprive them of wages? Make them work with the aid of the army?

[Starovoytova] The first precedent for introducing a special situation in our country was in Nagorno-Karabakh 20 September last year. I went there, I was accompanied by an officer from the commandant's office, since travel was not without danger. I asked him what was the status of the special measures and special situation. And he said, this major, that he was going to become a graduate student at the USSR KGB scientific research institute in order to write a thesis about the special situation and its legal aspects. So in our country a special situation is first introduced and then it is filled with scientifically substantiated content.

It is approximately the same now too. The formulas contained in the resolution are of course diffuse. On the one hand they say that the relevant ministries must perform their functions and do what they were created to do. This looks like a truism. On the other hand no definite list has been given of those enterprises at which strikes are banned. And on the other hand again, it has indeed not been specified what these urgent measures will consist of. Criminal legislation has not been brought into line with this resolution. So that we cannot understand what sanctions should ensue. In that sense the document is rather diffuse.

[Correspondent] So can we not "run films" of the possible options for the development of events—must we finally learn how to do this? The vagueness of the measures opens up paths for arbitrary decisions. And will these measures not provoke an aggravation of the situation in the country?

[Sakharov] To a certain degree we had before us an attempt to use the Supreme Soviet to sanction decisions whose actual thrust was unclear to the deputies. And they were not vigilant enough, so to speak, to look into everything to the end.

I think many people did not know what they were voting for. Subsequently this cannot be tolerated. Deputies must have a clear idea of all consequences of their actions. And it is essential now to create commissions which must ascertain the true essence of every point of the resolution which has been adopted and make the details public.

[Stankevich] I must say that perestroyka has revealed numerous gaps in our legislation. A curfew was introduced in Tbilisi 9 April and it was only later that we began to look into the legal bases for this measure. It is just the same now: We introduce urgent measures and it turns out that there is no legal basis for this. We must do what has long existed in world legal practice—we need a law regulating the introduction of a special situation, an extraordinary situation, and martial law. These are three different gradations providing for different regimes and different restrictions on democracy and different sanctions for violating the regime. The volume of powers handed over to the authorities also varies accordingly.

And nonetheless we should not ask a lot of those who wrote this document. A special situation presupposes the existence of an extreme situation and measures must be taken rapidly. And here some of the powers which traditionally belong to parliament must be rapidly delegated to the executive power so that it can react flexibly to the situation. You cannot envisage all possible collisions in an extreme situation so it is important merely to define its aim clearly and to stipulate the general framework for using the means of achieving it. The resolution indeed fails to do the latter.

At the same time I cannot say that the document is without content. For instance, it states that under certain conditions the leadership of the Transcaucasus railroads is implemented directly by the union ministry while the protection of individual sectors of the roads and bridges and the protection of transport workers is ensured by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defense. That is there are some powers here compared with what there were before.

I consider important the instruction which the Supreme Soviet gave to the government on the elaboration, before 1 November this year, of a draft law on extraordinary measures.

[Correspondent] Now the following very important question: Will the resolution work? It is the usual story: The authorities produce decisions and life, ignoring them, proceeds as usual. There are innumerable examples of this. Parliament proposes, the people dispose... Do these measures have a social support among the people, what can they rely on from below? Or can they rely only on a repressive apparatus?

[Starovoytova] There are indeed no such guarantees. Only a change in social feelings can be a real guarantee. Above all in Azerbaijan. After all it is impossible to place a guard detachment every 100 meters, for instance, on the railroad. So it is above all the normalization of the social situation which is essential.

[Sakharov] I think that it will be very difficult to rely on any forces in Azerbaijan. As for the railroads in other places and the river and sea ports where many goods have accumulated—here we will probably be able to count on support among the people. But on condition that the authorities are ready for a real dialogue with them. That is a political necessity.

Here too it must be admitted that the recent strikes were not of an economic nature in the traditional sense of the word. They were a conflict between the working people and the administrative-economic system as a whole. That is, although a number of the miners' demands were of an economic nature, as a whole they were real political strikes. It must be admitted that political strikes are inevitable in the era of perestroyka. Perestroyka is a revolutionary process and strikes are its reality. It is with a consideration for this fact that all legislation should be built.

[Stankevich] Indeed, perestroyka is a revolutionary process but a political strike is too sharp a weapon. If we say

that we have in our country a Supreme Soviet which operates more or less democratically and we are counting on having similar local soviets, then it makes no sense to issue them with ultimatums backed up by strikes. It is far more sensible to organize permanent workers cooperation between labor collectives, workers committees, and parliamentarians.

For instance, we offered our cooperation to the miners and we are already collaborating with representatives of the interregional union of workers and strike committees. With us they have worked on the draft law on strikes and are working with us on the draft law on trade unions' rights and a whole series of others effecting the economic reform. That is the path for resolving our common problems.

[Correspondent] In order to manage without special measures?

[Stankevich] Yes, to manage without special forms of revolutionary violence. And let the strike hang on the wall like a loaded weapon until other measures are exhausted.

In general there should be more sense and realism in using extraordinary measures on both sides: on the part of the authorities and on the part of the citizens....

[Sakharov] Yes, a strike arises when there is no real dialogue between the authorities and the people. Unfortunately, we are still in this situation.

[Correspondent] How to reconcile the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on urgent measures and the constitutional law on the republic's sovereignty just adopted by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet? Will the former not impede the latter?

[Starovoytova] Here of course there are actions which have not been coordinated. Clashes are entirely possible on this soil.

There are doubts as to the legality of the republic itself taking decisions regarding its administrative-territorial structure. Knowing the situation in the Transcaucasus it is not hard to suppose (this is stated more precisely in the document, the newspapers contain only a brief account) that it is a case of dissolving a national-administrative formation like the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Then there is the question of language. Azerbaijani has been declared the state language, which is entirely natural today. But the wording which follows is: At the same time free development and use of Russian and other languages which the population employs is assured. But the Armenian population of Baku, for instance, has no opportunity to study the Armenian language because there are no appropriate schools there.

The Armenian population is also Russian-speaking. That is what is formulated in covert form here is the idea that there is no need to support the conservation or development of the Armenian language.

The text of the law also stated that the committee for the special administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—a form introduced in accordance with an amendment to the USSR Constitution—should be dissolved. That means there is a denial of one of the provisions of the union constitution. We have long observed such precedents in their Estonian form.

At the time a union body repealed a republican body's decision. It will be interesting to know what the reaction of the Supreme Soviet session will be this time.

Thus a clash between this law and all-union acts is inevitable on a number of points. Including its clash with the resolution we are discussing today.

[Stankevich] In my view we also cannot agree with a number of provisions of the law on the sovereignty of Azerbaijan. The USSR Government must confirm the status of the special administration committee and perhaps even step up the special administration regime, considering the extraordinary nature of the situation in Karabakh.

[Correspondent] A regime of urgent measures is an unusual and even incomprehensible situation for our generation. And it was not for nothing that I have tried in this conversation to understand how these measures can be accepted by the people and what their possible course of development may be. After all calls are now being heard increasingly frequently from both the right and the left to step up authoritarianism and some people are already suggesting openly and assertively that special powers be given to the president and that the Supreme Soviet be dissolved. Is it possible to suppose that special measures will intensify these trends?

[Starovoytova] Any form of authoritarianism is incompatible with the process of democratization. World experience attest that as soon as the people receive even a small amount of freedom they want even more. In our country today there is a completely different stage of social awareness when authoritarianism, even as a temporary measure, cannot be accepted by the majority of the population.

The most important thing in the movement toward democracy is the lack of contradiction between ends and means. If we are struggling for democracy using means which grossly violate it, democracy itself loses value as an end.

[Sakharov] I do not know what the leftists are and I prefer to use the term "supporters of a radical policy of perestroyka." For them strong-arm methods are fundamentally unacceptable.

[Stankevich] Considering the transitional, complex, confused, and contradictory nature of the processes now taking place it is essential to have political rule which provides as much democracy as possible and further guarantees of civil liberties. But at the same time the rapid, effective use of power in cases where this is

required is not ruled out. The only institution which can combine these two aspects is parliament.

So we now need a strong parliament.

Armenian Deputies Stage Walk-Out Over NKAO

Seen as 'Last Resort'

LD1010195989 Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has asked the government to take measures to stabilize the consumer market and put prices under control. The debates in parliament were keynoted by concern over price rises, inflation and the shortages of essentials which had an unfavorable effect on the position of the population. The Soviet trade unions' leader, Stepan Shalayev, called for freezing prices, claiming that progressive taxes were tantamount to a wage freeze. Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, dismissed the claim, saying that in July through September income growth rates were 15 times higher than the increase of commodities' production. That led to an imbalance of the market and inflation.

By 1 November the government will present its proposals as to how to stabilize the market and stop price rises.

There were also heated debates on cooperatives, seen by a considerable part of the population as a source of corruption and speculation. Agreement was reached on some of the provisions to be included in a special resolution of the Supreme Soviet. A ban on trade and purchase operations by cooperatives and additional bank control measures are going to be introduced. However, parliament emphasized its all-round support for the sane and legal element of the cooperative movement.

During the evening session of parliament the deputies from Armenia staged a walk-out. They said they had to take the measure because they saw it as the last resort in efforts to help break the deadlock of the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region inside Azerbaijan having a mostly Armenian population. The region has been virtually denied food and fuel supplies.

The chairman of the session, Anatoliy Lukyanov, said the deputies felt profound sympathy toward the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who have found themselves in trouble. Anatoliy Lukyanov said that the USSR Supreme Soviet was determined to help close that bleeding wound. A resolution was adopted obliging the authorities of Armenia and Azerbaijan to take all measures necessary to restore the situation in the region to normal.

PRAVDA Reports Deputies' Walk-Out

PM1010191989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by PRAVDA "Parliamentary Group" on 10 October Plenary sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers in the Kremlin: "Prices and the Market"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The sitting heard an announcement from L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, about the situation that has taken shape in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The deputies took note of the report and instructed the governments of Azerbaijan and Armenia to take further immediate steps to unblock the situation, and also supported the Council of Ministers' line on this question. However, as A. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, subsequently announced, some of the Armenian deputies disagreed with the majority opinion and left the hall of sessions after handing the presidium an appropriate statement. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet To Meet in Committees 11 Oct

LD1110064889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] In the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Following 2 days of plenary sittings at the session of our country's Supreme Soviet, the deputies will today be working in the committees and commissions. The majority of them will commence their sittings at 10 o'clock in the morning [0700 GMT]. In particular, the Commission for Development of Industry, Energy, Machinery and Technology of the Soviet of the Union will discuss the draft law on the socialist enterprise. The Committee for Economic Reform [of the Supreme Soviet] will talk about leasing and lease relations in the USSR. The Committee for Agrarian Issues and Food [of the Supreme Soviet] will discuss the draft law on inserting amendments and additions into the USSR Law on Cooperatives. As for property, taxation, the socialist enterprise and cooperatives, they will be the subject of debate in the Committee for Construction and Architecture [of the Supreme Soviet]. Deputies will deal with the same package of draft laws in the Committee for Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources [of the Supreme Soviet]. All this will take place in the building on Prospekt Kalinina.

The Commission for Transport Communications and Information Technology of the Soviet of the Union—and, from 1500 hours, the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Relations Between Nationalities of the Soviet of Nationalities—will work in the conference hall of the Moskva Hotel. Also there, in the Moskva Hotel, members of the commission studying the situation connected with the so-called cotton affair, which was dealt with by Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov, will assemble in the morning.

And so, the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet have 3 days' work ahead of them in the standing commissions of the chambers and the inter-cameral committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our parliamentary correspondents will bring detailed reports on the deputies' work today.

Political & Social

8 Civilians Wounded by 'Firemen' in Stepanakert

LD1110112589 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Meanwhile, in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, eight civilians were wounded when apprentice firemen shot at a crowd. An Interior Ministry spokesman has told the press in Moscow the confrontation occurred when a column of 19 vehicles carrying apprentice firemen was challenged by a mob throwing stones and firing at the passing column. The spokesman said the firemen were forced to shoot in self-defense. According to the Interior Ministry, eight people were hospitalized and two are in critical condition.

Armenian Killed by Military Tanks in Stepanakert

NC1110111489 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 11 (AFP)—One Armenian was killed and five injured when a column of 20 military tanks plowed through the main town of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in renewed tension Tuesday night, local residents said.

Reports conflicted, with the Armenian Karabakh Committee charging that the tanks that crossed the center of Stepanakert fired "without warning". Its communique said the city was "circled by tanks" and that the situation was "explosive".

But Sergei Kuprev, a member of the special committee set up by Moscow last January to administer the area as ethnic tension mounted, said the tanks were responding to an attack by "hostile elements".

A local official also said army reinforcements had been "temporarily deployed" in Stepanakert.

Nagorno-Karabakh has been the focus of a running dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The small territory is located inside Azerbaijan but inhabited mostly by ethnic Armenians and both republics claim the right to control it.

The dispute has also led to a month-long Azeri railway blockade. Though Azeri nationalists Wednesday said they had suspended the blockade, a local journalist said there were new disruptions Tuesday night, though no immediate details were available.

An Azerbaijan Popular Front spokesman also said authorities had lifted a curfew in the Azerbaijan capital Baku.

Tofik Gasimov said in a telephone interview that the leadership of the Azerbaijan Popular Front had decided late Tuesday [10 October] to reopen "entirely" railway supply lines into Armenia. But Nagorno-Karabakh remains sealed off by the Azeris, and essential supplies are running low.

Around 85 per cent of all railway-shipped supplies to Armenia pass first through Azerbaijan and the blockade had caused serious shortages of petroleum products and materials for reconstruction after last December's massive earthquake in Armenia.

The curfew in Baku, in force since last November, was lifted on Monday in line with one of the Popular Front's main demands, Mr. Gasimov said.

Mr. Gasimov said authorities had agreed to protect railway shipments into Armenia by stationing both Armenian and Azeri officials, as well as government soldiers, in the trains alongside conductors.

He said that railway traffic had already started up again but war that the blockade would only remain suspended provided the safety of the trains was guaranteed.

Further Violence in NKAO Reported

Azerbaijan Village Shelled

LD1010180689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct (TASS)—According to information in the situation report issued today, which reached TASS from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Press center, the situation in Azerbaijan remains complicated; 74 freight trains are standing idle on the railroad tracks, including 13 carrying supplies for Armenia.

In the republic's Mir-Bashir Rayon a group of people of Armenian nationality, who arrived from the village of Krymyzy in Mardakert Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], shelled [obstreliano] the village of Karadagly on 8 October at 1800 in the evening.

The blockade of roads leading into NKAO is continuing. Four trucks with equipment for a gas station were accompanied by a military escort. A freight train with building materials and other freight has arrived in Stepanakert from Agdam.

In Gadrut rayon of Azerbaijan near the village of Idilli there was an exchange of fire between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who arrived from the village of Akhullu. There were no fatalities.

According to information in the report, there have been no substantial changes in the situation in Armenia. Via Sadakhlo station on the Transcaucasian railroad 20

goods trains consisting of 500 cars with building materials and raw materials for industrial enterprises have passed into the republic.

Gunfire Exchanged in Villages

NC1110142589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Tension persists in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. A cloudless bright sky greeted the people of Artsakh [NKAO] on the morning of 10 October. Yet it in no way improved their disposition. Nature cannot inspire any feeling when for more than 1 ½ half years the articles concocted in PRAVDA attempt to convince the people of NKAO that to live within the structure of their own compatriots is a manifestation of nationalism whereas living under Azerbaijani order is real internationalism. This is particularly true now that their lives could be endangered at any moment.

The latest NKAO Interior Department records give no cause for optimism. The lawless and criminal acts committed by the irresponsible people as a rule encourage rumors which in turn further exacerbate the situation. Unfortunately, right now it is not possible to check these. For example, a group of Azeris from Akhullu village in Gadrut rayon armed with hunting rifles attacked the Armenian village of Idilli in the same rayon on 9 October at 2215. There was an exchange of fire but no casualties.

On the same day at 1305, militiamen send from the Azerbaijan Interior Ministry fired at the dairy firm of the communist collective farm of (?Chardar) village from the courtyard of Bazeriev, an inhabitant of (?khochabent) village of Mardunskiy rayon. There were no casualties. The body of Riza Chalalogly Sadikov, an inhabitant of Lachin rayon, was found in the Ganachtala settlement of Shushinskiy rayon. (?There are signs) of murder. An investigation is being conducted.

The economic situation in the oblast is not improving. The oblast is facing unimaginable difficulties with foodstuffs and fuel. The sowing period is being postponed in the rural regions. Agricultural produce is not reaching retail outlets. This is the present situation of NKAO and we do not know what tomorrow will bring.

NKAO Commander Comments

LD1110124589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0525 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Excerpts] We are now in communication with Stepanakert. Reports are coming in practicaly every day and the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains very difficult. Here is Sergey Omelchenko, our special correspondent in Stepanakert. Good morning.

[Omelchenko] Good morning. In Nagorno-Karabakh explosions are continuing, murders are being committed, roads are being blocked, and population centers and motor and rail transportation are coming under fire. Of 600 columns of motor transpotation that were being escorted by internal troops, more than half came under attack. The blocade of Nagrono-Karabakh has not yet been lifted fully. Travel is practically impossible on the roads without a troop escort. Rail transportation is delivering to Stepanakert anything except fuel and food products, that is, the most necessary things. Because of this, machines are idle, enterprises are not working, and autumn field work is being disrupted. There is a chronic shortage of water and electricity. There are long lines for bread. Experts reckon some 300 grams, so there are about 300 grams per person, but no one from the conflicting sides is willing to compromise, to embark on dialogue. Passions are being inflamed. This inflammation is promoted by certain party and local soviet officials of the region and the mass media. By this morning, the situatuion in Nagorno-Karabakh is especially aggravated. I have invited Major General Vladislav Nikolayeich Safonov, commander of the Nagorno-Karabakh special region to take part in this broadcast. I ask him: Vladislav Nikolayevich, what is being done by the internal troops to stabilize the situation?

[Safonov] To stabilize the situation, military soldiers are on duty keeping order, in major population centers of Karabakh. Checkpoints are operating on the main highways. There are details of servicemen in many villages. In light of the sabotage mounted to blow up a previously unguarded bridge in Stepanakert, a number of railroad and road bridges have had to be guarded. Fulfilling their combat service missions, servicemen of the internal troops, jointly with cadets of the militia schools, are acting courageously and selflessly. Thus, servicemen of the internal troops together with border patrolmen thwarted a brazen attempt to deliver a substantial quantity of ammunition and weapons to the territory of the autonomous oblast from Armenia. On the approaches to the Azerbaijani village of Dzhidzhimli, a detail of servicemen battled for 12 hours with a gang of bandits who had attacked the village. Thanks to their bold and resolute actions, none of the inhabitants of the village or the servicemen suffered. Yesterday evening, a column of motor vehicles carrying cadets of the Sverdlovsk firemen's technical college was on its way through the town of Stepanakert. It was pelted with stones and fired on. In response, the cadets were forced to use arms. There are wounded on both sides.

We are working in close contact with the Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee. [passage omitted] We are making efforts to bring the positions of the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides closer on specific questions and conflicts. Thus, a meeting was held of first secretaries of Fizuli and Gadrut rayon committees, and the heads of rayon departments of internal affairs in Goris and Lachin rayons. We have learned with satisfaction that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is holding a meeting today of all rayon party committee first secretaries adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh rayons. At the meeting, one of the main

questions will be that of lifting the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh. Taking part in the meeting is Colonel Kovalev, deputy commander of the special region. [Omelchenko] [passage omitted]

[Safonov] It cannot go on for so long; it is not natural. Many officers and soldiers today are asking themselves: How long must servicemen pay with grave physical and moral burdens for the irresponsibility and inaction, the nationalistic blindness of the extremists, and of the local leadership in a number of cases? I think it is primarily the local soviet and party bodies that must find a compromise and a way out of the situation that has taken shape. [passage omitted]

From lofty tribunes there long has been talk of the need for a political settlement of the Karabakh question, but today we here in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the rayons of Azerbaijan adjacent to it, feel especially acutely that any prolongation or delay would aggravate the situation and lead to unpredictable consequences, to the tragic edge of internecine war.

Azerbaijani Blockade of Food, Fuel Persists

NC1110133489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Journalists were told at the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railways that traffic between Armenia and Azerbaijan has partially resumed. On 8 October, 15 trains entered Armenia from Azerbaijan through Norashen and Idzhevan stations. Seventeen trains carrying manufactured goods to different parts of the country have been sent from Armenia through Azerbaijan.

However, the Azeri railwaymen are continuing the blockade. They have completely closed the roads for fuel products. Azeri railroad men are turning back those trains destined for Armenia. All trains destined for Georgia and Armenia via Azerbaijan are stopped and the wagons carrying foodstuffs and fuels are decoupled.

The Georgian railroad men are providing substantial assistance in these difficult days for Armenia.

Sakharov Calls for Airlift of Aid

AU0710211989 Paris AFP in English 2057 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 7 (AFP)—Soviet human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov appealed Saturday for a worldwide campaign to air lift food and fuel into Armenia "to save lives" threatened from a long-running blockade by Azerbaijani nationalists.

"I appeal to Armenian communities in the world and to all those who are worried about the Armenian people's fate to ask their governments to contact the Soviet Government", Mr. Sakharov said in a statement telephoned to the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE bureau here. Mr. Sakharov, a Nobel peace laureate, said his goal was "to organize an air lift to take food, fuel and other basic necessities into Armenia and the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh".

Nagorno-Karabakh, a mainly Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan, is also blockaded.

"I appeal for the organization of donations of funds for the implementation of this humanitarian action," added Mr. Sakharov, a member of the Soviet parliament. He said he had received reports that the blockade was still in place on railway tracks running to Armenia. Trains getting through were not carrying basic necessities to the besieged republic, he added.

Armenian radio earlier said nationalists in the neighbouring republic of Azerbaijan were still preventing trains from entering Armenia despite a report by the official Soviet news agency TASS that rail traffic had resumed.

NKAO Close To 'Internecine War'

LD1110124589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0525 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Excerpts] We are now in touch with Stepanakert. Reports are coming in practically every day and the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains very difficult. Here is Sergey Omelchenko, our special correspondent in Stepanakert. Good morning.

[Omelchenko] Good morning. In Nagorno-Karabakh explosions are continuing, murders are being committed, roads are being blocked, and population centers and motor and rail transportation are coming under fire. Of 600 columns of motor transpotation that were being escorted by internal troops, more than half came under attack. The blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh has not yet been fully lifted. Travel is practically impossible on the roads without a troop escort. Rail transportation is delivering to Stepanakert anything except fuel and food products, that is, the most necessary things. Because of this, machines are idle, enterprises are not working, and autumn field work is being disrupted. There is a chronic shortage of water and electricity. There are long bread lines. Experts reckon that there are about 300 grams of bread available per person, but no one from the conflicting sides is willing to compromise, to embark on dialogue. Passions are being inflamed. This inflammation is promoted by certain party and local soviet officials of the region and the mass media. By this morning, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has become especially aggravated. I have invited Major General Vladislav Nikolayevich Safonov, commander of the Nagorno-Karabakh special region to take part in this broadcast. I ask him: Vladislav Nikolayevich, what is being done by the internal troops to stabilize the situation?

[Safonov] To stabilize the situation, military soldiers are on duty keeping order in major population centers of

Karabakh. Checkpoints are operating on the main highways. There are details of servicemen in many villages. In light of the sabotage mounted to blow up a previously unguarded bridge in Stepanakert, a number of railroad and road bridges have had to be guarded. Fulfilling their combat service missions, servicemen of the internal troops, jointly with cadets of the militia schools, are acting courageously and selflessly. Thus, servicemen of the internal troops together with border patrolmen thwarted a brazen attempt to deliver a substantial quantity of ammunition and weapons to the territory of the autonomous oblast from Armenia. On the approaches to the Azerbaijani village of Dzhidzhimli, a detail of servicemen battled for 12 hours with a gang of bandits who had attacked the village. Thanks to their bold and resolute actions, none of the inhabitants of the village or the servicemen suffered. Yesterday evening, a column of motor vehicles carrying cadets of the Sverdlovsk firemen's technical college was on its way through the town of Stepanakert. It was pelted with stones and fired on. In response, the cadets were forced to use arms. Both sides suffered wounded.

We are working in close contact with the Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee. We are making efforts to bring the positions of the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides closer on specific questions and conflicts. Thus, a meeting was held of first secretaries of Fizuli and Gadrut rayon committees, and the heads of rayon departments of internal affairs in Goris and Lachin rayons. We have learned with satisfaction that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is holding a meeting today of all rayon party committee first secretaries adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh rayons. At the meeting, one of the main questions will be that of lifting the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh. Taking part in the meeting is Colonel Kovalev, deputy commander of the special region. It cannot go on for so long; it is not natural. Many officers and soldiers today are asking themselves: How long must servicemen pay with grave physical and moral burdens for the irresponsibility and inaction, the nationalistic blindness of the extremists, and of the local leadership in a number of cases? I think it is primarily the local soviet and party bodies that must find a compromise and a way out of the situation that has taken shape.

From lofty tribunes there long has been talk of the need for a political settlement of the Karabakh question, but today we here in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the rayons of Azerbaijan adjacent to it, feel strongly that any prolongation or delay would aggravate the situation and lead to unpredictable consequences, to the tragic edge of internecine war.

Armenia Assesses Cost of Blockade

PM1010210789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "Price of Downtime"]

[Text] Yerevan—Republic newspapers have carried a report by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics on the economic losses caused by the republic's blockade.

It has been estimated that during September 1,500,600 tonnes of various freight was not received from Azerbaijan. During the same period just 723 tank cars containing liquid freight arrived—9.3 percent of the norm. Losses totaled more than R12 million in motor transport alone because of the acute fuel shortage. Serious harm has been caused to practically all sectors of Armenia's economy, but the blockade has hit the republic's life-support system particularly hard. Thus, foodstuffs to the value of more than R20 million and nonfoodstuffs worth more than R100 million have not entered retail trade.

The nonarrival of construction materials, raw materials, fuel, and so forth has led virtually to the suspension of construction in the disaster zone and a mass exodus of the workers who came here from other union republics.

Affect on Production Noted

NC1110125089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] The extremist Azeri forces, encouraged by the [word indistinct] support and patronage of the authorities, are unrelenting in continuing the economic blockade of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and Armenia.

As a result of their trickery and unconstitutional action, many production enterprises and construction organizations in Yerevan and in the entire republic have been forced to remain idle because they cannot get raw materials, construction material, and fuel. The inventory of the factories, associations, and combines are overstocked with manufactured goods which cannot be dispatched to the customers because of the blockade.

In September manufacturing losses amounted to more than R 150 million. The shameful blockade organized by the Azeri extremists, who claim to be internationalists, aims at achieving their objective through coercion, as was the case decades ago. The piling up of wagons on the rails destined for Armenia and the lawlessness in the stations created an atmosphere conducive to pillaging and every kind of criminal act along the railways.

Attempts Made To Reconcile Disputants

LD1010222489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpts] In the complicated, unpredictable and explosive situation which has come about in Nagorno-Karabakh and the adjacent rayons of Azerbaijan healthy voices can be heard which advocate stabilizing the situation. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports:

[Omelchenko] [passage omitted] People have grown tired of expectation and fear. The officers of the internal troops, as well as their direct responsibilities for maintaining public order, are making great efforts to get Armenians and Azerbaijanis to sit at the negotiating table at various levels, both ordinary peasants and workers as well as the leaders. A noteworthy event: The leaders of Fizulinskiy and Gadrutskiy rayons have displayed goodwill and met on neutral territory at the military unit in the village of Kazbek. They sat down and tried to resolve conflict situations peacefully together. [passage omitted]

There are emissaries from both sides who incite people and aggravate the already complicated situation. Unfortunately, there are still few, very few, honorable party and local soviet activists who could have a real influence on the tragic situation which has arisen here in Karabakh.

Ministry Reports on Situation

LD1010224389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Here is a report from the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Armenia. In the last 24 hours 10 serious crimes have been committed and 15 incidents have occurred. Four have been immediately solved.

The situation of rail transportation remains complicated. In the last 24 hours alone the militia staff have exposed four cases of freight not being fully delivered. To be precise, at Yerevan station 12 boxes of tinned foods went astray. At the Masis base of Armenian Chemicals for Household Use it was discovered that 150 motor vehicle tires, worth R9,500, had not been delivered. From Azerbaijan, unfortunately, a large number of rail cars continue to arrive in Armenia with commercial and technical substandard goods. Many of them are sets to be assembled. In the last 24 hours 85 prefabricated houses that were intended for the earthquake disaster zone arrived virtually unfit to be inhabited.

Special efforts are being undertaken by the republican militia to regulate the transportation of cargoes in the narrow 46-km border section from Karchivan to Megri. Here, as General Arutyunyan, Armenian minister of internal affairs, noted, we have the necessary forces to normalize the situation.

Konarev Comments on Blockade

PM1010204989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Correspondent R. Ignatyev report: "Freight Trains"]

[Text] USSR Railways Minister N. Konarev told our correspondent R. Ignatyev about the situation which has taken shape today on the Azerbaijan Railroad:

"The situation has practically been normalized. On 9 October 1,748 cars were sent to Armenia, against a norm of 1,300. On 10 October more than 1,600 cars were delivered there. Freight has gone partly to Stepanakert too. There are construction materials, equipment, machinery, and apparatus. But the problem of dispatching petroleum products is still unresolved. Thus, 43 trains carrying gasoline, fuel oil, and diesel fuel have stacked up on the approaches to Norashen Station and at other stops. As soon as railroad workers try to send these trains to their destination, extremists get in their way.

"The talks on dispatching petroleum products to Armenia have not yet produced positive results. A large proportion of the cars carrying food is also being held up. The two republics' leaders are obliged to resolve this problem.

"Thanks to the measures taken, we have now succeeded in 'raising' 60 trains which had stood for a long time on other railroads, and we have sent them toward Armenia...."

'Top Priority' Views 'Crisis'

LD0810145589 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From the "Top Priority" program presented by Correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority" with Radomir Bogdanov and (Andrey Kochunov). I'm your host, Pavel Kuznetsov. The standing Soviet Legislature has adopted a package of measures to ban strikes in key sectors of the economy and also to normalize the situation around Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, which have been blockaded by Azerbaijan for 2 months. The Soviet parliament rejected a sweeping ban on strikes for 15 months proposed by First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin, and the plan was endorsed by Mikhail Gorbachev who, while supporting it, said that we cannot allow anarchy to take perestroyka hostage, to upset perestroyka.

But even without being a sweeping ban, the extraordinary package is nevertheless tough because it provides for what we hope is a limited use of Interior Ministry and regular troops to guard bridges and certain stretches of track, against sabotage. We also know, according to the latest reports, that some shipments have resumed but hundreds of trains and thousands of cars are still being held up. Now, my question is this: when we discus, and not only discuss but adopt, extraordinary measures, it clearly means we are heading for a major crisis. Is that so?

[(Kochunov)] Well, I think that it is so and I think that the reason for such a crisis is that the disintegration of old political and economic structures went faster than the creation of new ones, and therefore the country really

is facing anarchy. I think that I agree with Gorbachev on that; everybody can see it with his own eyes.

[Kuznetsov] Now, in addition to political factors, there are purely economic factors, like we are badly prepared for what many believe is going to be a very severe winter. Radomir, [Bogdanov interrupts; passage indistinct] is this a, is this also a factor? I think it's a major factor behind the decision.

[Bogdanov] I quite agree with you; this is a major factor. Winter is expected to be very tough this year, according to very responsible quarters, and suppose that in this winter we have some very bad conditions for our people—what will be people's reaction in this environment? You can, presume what it will be. So, I believe that measures which have been taken are not, not, not....

[Kuznetsov] So much political but....

[Bogdanov] ...not so much political as, ah, vital....

[Kuznetsov] ...as they are economic.

[Bogdanov] ...vital, vital economic measures. Let me express my own opinion, and you may agree with me that those measures are not enough. I mean, if you look at what is going on in some republics like Azerbaijan, like Armenia, in some other parts, you may just presume that people will not obey the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Then my question to you my friends: What will be the government's reaction? I give you a very simple, example: Interior troops guard key points, bridges, and so on and so on, but you have a situation when you have people lying down, blocking the railway, blocking bridges—what troops will do? You know Andrey, I think if that....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Radomir, we have jumped over to another issue and we are going to discuss it, but it give our listeners an example of how stark the reality is, here are some figures: for example our stocks of coal are down, are below the usual level by almost 5,000,000 tonnes and another 20,000,000 tonnes of coal are waiting to be delivered or distributed throughout the country. Now, we are coming to a recent report, in fact it was made 4 October by the weekly MOSCOW NEWS, which said, asserted that—well, alleged perhaps—that armed, Azerbaijanis have set up guerrilla camps and like Radomir Bogdanov has just said, women, old men, and children cut short or obstruct efforts to deliver goods and fuel to Nagorno-Karabakh by lying down in front of trucks. Now, if this report by the MOSCOW NEWS is even 50 percent accurate I think we're in trouble because people get armed with automatic weapons and home-made explosives with one purpose in mind—to resist—so, are we heading toward some bloodshed? Is this a possibility if troops will be resisted or if people will not obey orders to....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I'm sorry Pavel but I have very, very strong views on that—let me put it that way. Suppose that, in some American state you have this kind of situation....

[Kuznetsov] People get armed.

[Bogdanov] ...people get armed, people get railways and roads blocked because of their national feelings or whatever it is, their Negro, Black feelings, or....

[Kuznetsov] Hispanic.

[Bogdanov] Hispanic feelings....

[Kuznetsov] Or even white....

[Bogdanov] ...or white people are angry with somebody else, but they are just ruining normal functioning of one of the American states. What would National Guard and police forces do? My answer is clear—that the U.S. Congress would support any drastic measure to stop disorder. Now, what is the difference between this situation and that situation I have mentioned? Because my suspicion is that these Azerbaijani partisans or whatever you call [word indistinct], I'm sorry to say they are just bandits; they are just people, you know, in contradiction with the law. They are trying by that—covering by national slogans, using religion against Armenians, all that—they are just trying to save their own, you know, [word indistinct]. That's, that's, that's....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I would, Radomir, I would agree with your logic except for one thing: many republics, many people and elements in those republics—we call them extremists or nationalists—believe that they incorporated into the Soviet Union by force and that is why they don't think it's fair, so they have the right of secession, that's what they claim—they do have a right to secession, that is, leaving the Soviet Union—and that is why they think that whatever they do is absolutely right and justified as long as they fight for the just cause. [passage indistinct: interruption] So, let us take another look from and at those extraordinary measures from a different angle. We know they were taken against those whose patience has run out, who have reached the limits, who have reached the bottom line, and they cannot tolerate what they describe as unbearable living conditions, in those coal fields, for example.

But why is it that we never take extraordinary measures against those who sabotage perestroyka? Like occasional personnel reshuffles of party and government officials at the local level and even at the very top; well, we're used to them—they never yielded quick results. Why don't we take extraordinarary measures not against those who are ready to strike but who sit very comfortably and live pretty well and sabotage perestroyka—who slow it down and do nothing about speeding it up? What is your view Andrey?

[(Kochunov)] Well, first of all I would say that theoretically the local elections that are to take place very soon

will be able to take care of these people, because those who really try to sabotage perestroyka and slow down the process....

[Kuznetsov] (?will) be kicked out.

[(Kochunov)] ...(?they'll be just) you know, yeah, really kicked out. On the other hand I think, I guess that the top political leadership is not very consistent as far as the speed of perrestroyka is concerned and that is a real problem for me personally because you know, what we are having now, we have, we have the old, the system, you know, disintegrating and the leadership is facing a choice—either just to push it a little bit further and to make more radical steps or to step back [passage indistinct: interruption], and I think that these extraordinary measures are really a step back.

[Kuznetsov] But let us not give our listeners the idea that our Supreme Soviet is working out only extraordinary measures. I think our legislators are busy discussing a veriety of laws....

[Bogdanov] Oh yes, a variety....

[Kuznetsov] ...dealing with property, with legal system, with whatever, you just mention it.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes. But Pavel, this is quite natural that we focus ourselves on extraordinary....

[Kuznetsov] No. Yeah, on this program yes, but....

[Bogdanov] ...not because they are prevailing....

[Kuznetsov] ...but I think that, uh....

[Bogdanov] ...this is the situation, this is the reality.

[Kuznetsov] ...I think our parliament is doing its best to speed up perestroyka by introducing qualitatively new laws that would endorse the democratic changes....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Pavel, let me disagree with you a little bit.

[Kuznetsov] OK, you're welcome, you're most welcome.

[Bogdanov] ...because, you know, the problem is not in adopting good laws, the problem is in, in....

[Kuznetsov] ...implementing them.

[Bogdanov] ...implementing them.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, yeah.

[Bogdanov] And if we come back to your question about the sabotage of perestroyka there is a very very clear difference between the guy with the machine gun when we see that he is against [perestroyka], and a guy sitting in the office making all the appearance of supporting perestroyka....

[Kuznetsov] ...Yeah....

[bogdanov] ...(?saying) nice slogans and telling everyone they're for it. But (?there, our) bureaucracy has hundreds and hundreds [word indistinct] out to slow down, you know....

[Kuznetsov interrupting] Yeah, but, before I ask another question, I would disagree with you Radomir in the sense that our parliament isn't only devising new laws but is looking into ways of how to implement those laws, how to streamline those procedures so it's....

[Bogdanov interrupting] Oh, I'm afraid they are not yet ready for it, they have not yet reached that stage which is maybe even more....

[Kuznetsov] I watch television every day, and I heard a number of ministers of parliament....

[Bogdanov] And your impression that they have already....

[Kuznetsov] ...have come out and pressed this point that it's not only laws that are important, but they way they are implemented which is the root cause of so many failures that so far have occurred in our country.

[(Kochunov)] But you would agree that there is a lot of (?showdown) in the (?congress) just now?

[Kuznetsov] Oh yeah, there is a lot of infighting; it continues, and not only of people standing up and trying to draw attention to themselves—there's a lot of infighting.

[(Kochunov)] And you cannot simply expect the first parliament to be very businesslike. No. You have to wait some time till it gets secure.

[Kuznetsov] No, I think it's really very businesslike because when there's a hearing of a particular, a specific law, a draft is proposed, there is an intense debate and then—there were several occasions when those drafts were sent back to those committees, commissions and sub-commissions, whatever, to be polished up. Now, a small article published recently in our national evening daily IZVESTIYA said that the 36,000 Interior Ministry troops that we have are not enough and that this force will grow, the numbers will increase, and our Interior Ministry troops will be getting modern riot gear, the necessary equipment, even helicopters, radios, and so on. Now, are we coming to a stage where we'd have some sort of a peaceful coexistence between some democratic institutions and a range of freedoms that we already have and a very strong military force to uphold law and order? What do you think?

[Bogdanov] Well, I would put it differently. We are reaching a stage of a very normal state which is like that everywhere—you have law and order and you have means and ways and tools to keep law and order. Ours was like that. We had slogans, we had good intentions but we did not have enough tools and means to support all that, to support all that. Now we are approaching a normal situation.

[Kuznetsov] It would be wrong to think that the expansion of those internal troops is motivated only by some national problems and interethnic clashes. I think that they're also created to fight crime, which is on the rise in this country. Is this what you also think?

[(Kochunov)] Well, certainly crime is really out of control now and I think that such a measure will gain popular support because people are simply scared of the crime rate. Besides, I think you know it goes in line with the overall centralization of power which we are facing now; we see that Gorbachev is acquiring new responsibilities and certainly he needs some tools just to make his measures effective. At least to try to make them effective because I don't know whether all these troops will be reliable (?or not in present conditions).

[Bodganov] Look Pavel, my answer is very simple, like a citizen's answer....

[Kuznetsov] Uh-um.

[Bogdanov] ... If I'm going out with my wife on Sundays and I'm afraid that I will be beaten or robbed by somebody—and if I see three or five Interior troops, soldiers, standing with their rifles, and if you call this a violation of democracy I would prefer to see these soldiers and feel safe.

[Kuznetsov] OK, let's hope that... if you see three police officers would you ... without rifles, just with guns, with handguns... [indistinct cross talking]

[Bogdanov] Well, I prefer them with rifles, not with guns.

[Kuznetsov] Many people here share a feeling that they stand and walk on quicksand. Like those sailing ships in the past which looked for a quiet harbor to anchor properly and securely to endure a storm, people are looking for something solid, for something firm, for something to put their hands on and to avert fear of a coming crisis. What do you think, in your opinion, this something could be? Is it faith in perestroyka? Is it faith in the party? Is it turning to religion perhaps? Is it stopping watching television and stopping reading newspapers which abound with all sorts of pessimistic and gloomy stories these days?

[(Kochunov)] Well, I think that first of all this is certainly not the time for rationalization. Because all rational forecasts are too gloomy. I guess that the most powerful feeling that can somehow help people to survive this time is the national feeling, and this is exactly why....

[Kuznetsov] You mean national pride, or....

[(Kochunov)] National pride, national [indistinct cross-talking] national identity. And when, you know, when the old political structure with the old slogans and [word indistinct] are compromised, discredited, I think that national feelings will gain the upper hand. We see it not only in Azerbaijan or Armenia, we can also see it in Russia. Ah, well, you know, one an argue that it can grow to extremes, it can led to chauvinism—and it sometimes really leads to chauvinsim and nationalism, but still I think that it's really inevitable.

[Kuznetsov] What is your point of view? Our time is almost up.

[Bogdanov] Yes, I agree with Andrey, I agree with him.

[Kuznetsov] Looking back into our past and trying to derive some strength from it. Just continue to believe that our nation is unique, that we have a long history, that we should strengthen our nation and work for our people...

[Bogdanov] Our nation has survived worse times and I believe we will survive all that, but we should be a little bit more passionate than we are now.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you gentlemen. Our time is up. That was "Top Priority" with your host Pavel Kuznetsov inteviewing Radomir Bogdanov and Andrey (Kochunov). On behalf of "Top Priority" we thank you for being with us and invite you to tune in again next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

Special Administration Committee Criticized

PM0510142589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 p 2

[Roundup of reports by V. Byrkin in Stepanakert, correspondent V. Aloyan in Yerevan, and correspondent A. Mursaliyev in Baku under the general heading: "Autumn of Our Anxiety..."]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Yerevan—[Passage omitted] The republic press recently carried a report by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics citing these figures: Because of a lack of fuels, lubricants, and transport, the harvest of grain crops, corn, and vegetables has not been removed from the fields, and thousands upon thousands of tonnes of silage and grass meal have not been procured.

But the acuteness of the threat of a hungry winter recedes into the background before the grave situation which has taken shape in the disaster zone. Construction sites have fallen silent. Construction workers who have come to help are dispersing to their homes. And this under conditions when one Armenian resident in every five does not have a roof over his head and hope of resolving the housing problem is becoming increasingly ephemeral with every passing day. Some 4,800 cars of construction freight have not reached Kirovakan, and just 3,500 tonnes of the long since dispatched 26,000 tonnes of cement has been received in Leninakan. Timber, fiberglass, and ferroconcrete structures have not been received.

The situation that has taken shape has made a breach in the social programs of all the republic's labor collectives without exception. The dreams of housing complexes,

new kindergartens, sanatoriums, and stadiums will have to be abandoned for a long time.

According to the encyclopedia, the word "blockade" means "a system of measures of a political or economic nature aimed at breaking external links with the blockaded state so as to force it to fulfill some demands. The purpose of a blockade is to exhaust the blockaded grouping and make it surrender, to undermine the enemy state's military and economic strength..."

So is this war? But these are not two "warring states" but 2 of the 15 fraternal union republics living in a family where the pain and concern of one become a common pain.

If you evaluate realistically the situation taking shape in the republic, it is possible to say: Yes, here is a case of "economic undermining of strength." As V.P. Trushin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, said on Central Television Monday, serious harm has been caused to the country as a result of the blockade. And the watershed that has formed between the two peoples is increasing all the time.

Baku: Whom Does the Blockade Benefit?

Many of those with whom I have spoken these days agree that strikes in transport are not, of course, the best method of resolving painful problems. Yes, they say, the railroad must work without interruption. The blockade must be excluded from practice as a method of influence. But the Azerbaijan railroad workers' strike began in September, while interruptions in train traffic on the Azerbaijan-Armenian border began in July-August. It was then that the first blockade began—the total blockade of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, for, unlike Armenia, which has a branch line linking it with Georgia, all lines to Nakhichevan pass across Armenian territory. [passage omitted]

On 13 August a railroad bridge was destroyed by an explosive device in the Agdam-Askeran section. At the same time the blockade of Shusha and of Azerbaijani villages in Nagorno-Karabakh had begun at the end of July. Food and medical supplies began to be delivered there as in Afghanistan, escorted by armored personnel carriers and then by helicopters too. Here too a counter-blockade followed. The atmosphere around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is constantly being inflamed by certain forces. Not one leader of Azerbaijan is allowed in the oblast now. The position of the NKAO Special Administration Committee is not clear. In a recent interview in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Committee Member V.A. Sidorov pointed to the excessive timidity of the press in covering the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. But precisely A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee, sometimes prevents journalists from working in the NKAO. The committee's representatives have twice expelled KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents, for example, from the oblast. The Special Administration Committee is today trying to place the whole blame for the exacerbation of events on the republics.

There are many reasons why the recent Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet session adopted a decision to petition the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium to repeal the decision of 12 January this year setting up the NKAO Special Administration Committee.

'Restoration of Legality' Demanded

PM0610083189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 19 Sep in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 2

["Abbreviated version" of "Report by N.S. Fataliyev, Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium," delivered at the 15 September evening sitting of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet's extraordinary 10th session in Baku: "On the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, despite the efforts being made, has seriously deteriorated. There is no end to actions openly aimed at tearing the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] away from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Strikes, unsanctioned demonstrations and rallies, and other illegal actions have created an extremely grave moral-psychological and political situation in the oblast. Under pressure from internal and external forces, the interethnic conflict is becoming increasingly bitter.

The oblast's economy is in a state of total disintegration. The mechanism of the NKAO's natural, economic, and cultural links with other regions in the Azerbaijan SSR has collapsed. All this aggravates the economic situation and aggravates the confrontation between the oblast's Armenian and Azeri populations. Interethnic clashes are becoming increasingly dangerous. The number of those killed or injured is rising. The rights of the Azeri section of the population are suffering from discrimination. Azeris have been expelled from the NKAO in their thousands. There is virtually not a single Azeri family left in Stepanakert, or an Armenian family in Shusha.

All this cannot fail to arouse extreme alarm and worry among working people and all strata of the population in our republic. Voters demand that we, the deputies of the republic's supreme organ of state power, halt the dangerous development of events and restore people's tranquillity and sense of confidence in the future.

This is the second time we have had to examine this question. It was a year ago, on 17 June 1988, that the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet session comprehensively examined the situation in the NKAO and then clearly and unambiguously, proceeding from the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, adopted a decision on the unacceptability of the transfer of the NKAO from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR to the

Armenian SSR. That was our constitutional response to the petition by deputies from the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies and to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's appeal.

But the subsequent development of events showed that this firm stand, expressing the will of the Azerbaijan SSR's entire population, is not to the liking of leaders and organizers of the separatist movement, who persist to this day with their absurd demands to tear the NKAO away.

Extremely perturbed by the dangerous development of events which have spread over the entire region, we believe that the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, proceeding from the will and unanimous support of the republic's entire multinational population, must:

—declare that the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty is immutable, that the Azerbaijani people will never, under any circumstances, waive their sovereign rights including their right to be free and complete masters of their territory;

—proclaim the Azerbaijani people's commitment to the ideas and traditions of internationalism and respect for the traditions and specific features of each nation; it must declare the Azerbaijan SSR's resolute intention to guarantee full and consistent implementation on the republic's territory of the constitutional principle of citizens' equality regardless of national affiliation.

—call for unity and cohesion of the Azerbaijani people and all working people in the republic, and aim for normalization of the situation.

It is well known that events in the NKAO began in February 1988 with meetings and rallies, followed by strikes during which representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian population raised the question of reunification with Armenia. This demand was motivated by the autonomous oblast's grave socioeconomic position and the infringement of the national interests and needs of Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh. In this context, complaints were made about the former leadership which were not altogether groundless.

Special attention must be given to the fact—and this is of fundamental importance—that events in the NKAO began not as an interethnic conflict but as a conflict between a section of the population headed by persons with extremist leanings and the oblast authority organs. It must be said at once that the interethnic alienation and enmity we are experiencing today are not the cause, as some people try to prove, but the result of a separatist, nationalist movement which acquired an anti-Azerbaijani character as it expanded.

The NKAO's former leadership bears great responsibility for being inactive, for pandering to extremist, nationalist elements, and also for the serious shortcomings, failures, and omissions in social and cultural development and in political leadership of interethnic relations and international education. The former leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Azerbaijan Communist Party Committee [obkom] and the oblast soviet, detached as they were from the masses and the real state of affairs, proved incapable of coping with the situation in extreme conditions, failed to halt the development of negative trends, did not offer proper political and ideological counteraction to the provocative activity by extremists with nationalist leanings, and failed to promptly and resolutely rebuff separatist feelings, thus allowing them to expand to the scale of a mass movement.

When analyzing the causes of events in the NKAO, it is necessary to indicate factors of a socioeconomic order. Without going into them in any detail, let us note the following. As part of the Azerbaijan SSR, the NKAO has traveled a long road of socioeconomic and cultural development. At the same time, however, the nationalities policy distortions which occurred in the country and its regions had a painful effect on the position of national autonomous formations, including the NKAO.

It must also be noted that one of the causes which made events in the NKAO possible was the passive stance taken by party and soviet organs in Azerbaijan and Armenia, whose former leaderships underestimated the political danger inherent in nationalist sentiment and the irresponsible appeals and actions of extremists. The superficial and irresponsible approach to the situation which developed in the two republics essentially resulted in a loss of control over the situation both in the NKAO itself and in several regions in both republics.

Strikes, the rallies attended by thousands in Yerevan and Stepanakert which followed immediately after that unconstitutional action, and the totally unacceptable slogans and calls which were heard there could not be overlooked or left unanswered by the Azerbaijani people and all working people in the republic. Protest rallies and demonstrations strated in Baku and in other cities in the republic.

The demonstrations and work stoppages in the NKAO and Armenia and the mass migration of persons of Azeri and Armenian nationality in February 1988 seriously destabilized the situation, exacerbated interethnic relations in some sectors, and made possible the excesses and loss of life in Askeran and Sumgait.

As a result of the interethnic conflict which resulted in mass disturbances and breaches of the law, thousands of people have suffered and dozens have been killed or injured since February 1988. Unfortunately, these terrifying statistics have still not helped to sober up the leaders of the nationalist movement in the NKAO and Armenia, blinded as they are by political ambitions, or made them come to their senses and stop. As the number of people involved in the conflict grows, the situation

becomes more unmanageable and the further development of events more unpredictable.

The development of the conflict in the NKAO is a process of self-exposure by the movement's organizers and leaders: Whereas, at its initial phase, leaders of self-appointed committees attributed their illegal demands and actions to causes of economic, social, and cultural nature and made reference to infringements of the national interests of the autonomous oblast's Armenian population, subsequently, having exhausted these arguments, the extremist forces started to resort with growing frequency to downright nationalist slogans and calls, stirring up emotions and passions.

Perestroyka spotlighted the negative aspects of socioeconomic and social life in both republics, and events in and around the NKAO have proved who finds it unsuitable and who is orchestrating interethnic dissension.

The path to normalization of the situation in the NKAO has been clearly mapped out in party and state decisions adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh. It must be emphasized that, from the very onset of events, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a consistently internationalist stance which took into account the historically prevailing realities of the destiny of perestroyka and the interests of the further development of the multinational Soviet state. Actually proceeding from the common interests of the country's nations and ethnic groups, the CPSU Central Committee emphasized in its 21 February 1988 resolution the immutability of the existing national-state structure and demanded that party and state organs in both republics take effective measures. The development of subsequent events in the Transcaucasus proved that actions and demands aimed at revising the existing national-territorial structure inflict enormous political, moral, and material damage on society, destabilize the situation, and obstruct social transformations and creative labor.

Concern for the supreme fundamental interests of all socialist nations and ethnic groups permeated M.S. Gorbachev's address to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijanbaijan and Armenia, which contained a call for common sense, restraint, and strengthening of the friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, among the peoples of the Transcaucasus and the entire country.

With a view to overcoming the crisis situation and consistently solving the accumulated problems, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a program for the further economic, social, and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh and the working people of all nationalities living in the autonomous oblast. This document essentially created new prospects for the constructive solution of accumulated socioeconomic and sociocultural problems and the improvement of interethnic relations.

The 18 July 1988 sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which examined the Nagorno-Karabakh question, proved an important landmark in the process of efforts being made. Proceeding from the fundamental interests of both peoples and the interests of all Soviet people, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium unanimously recognized the impossibility of changing the borders or the national-territorial division of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, which is founded on a constitutional basis. Measures were simultaneously determined to strengthen guarantees of Nagorno-Karabakh's development as part of the Azerbaijan SSR—guarantees preventing any recurrence of the circumstances which led to the present situation.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at its sitting opened up a broad field for active collaboration among all interested sides to normalize the situation and indicated a realistic and most sensible way out of the political deadlock which developed as a result of the unilateral, categorical demand to detach the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR—a way to overcome the alienation in mutual relations between the two peoples. The CPSU Central Committee leadership and the USSR Supreme Soviet convincingly demonstrated that sensible solutions can and must be found even in the most acute conflict situation.

This was precisely the path taken by our republic's leadership. Realistic practical steps were taken to remedy the situation.

But the incipient trend toward normalization gave rise to a fresh wave of resistance. Many of our initiatives to overcome the interethnic conflict in the region simply remained unanswered and gained no support. The posting of Comrade A.I. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the autonomous oblast and a series of other measures were of no help, either.

Despite the decisions adopted and the constructive efforts made, extremist elements continued to inflame the situation and to fan interethnic dissension. This led to renewed mass clashes.

As a result of the persisting tension in interethnic relations in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, and with a view to preventing their further exacerbation and to stabilizing the situation with due consideration for proposals by party and state organs from the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and the Soviet of Nationalities Commission, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, having examined this question with the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and in line with Paragraph 14 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, adopted a decision on the temporary introduction of a special form of administration in NKAO. The powers of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies were suspended, and the party obkom's activity was terminated.

It must be noted that the Special Administration Committee initially performed a certain amount of work

aimed at solving socioeconomic problems and preventing interethnic clashes. But the committee did not manage to make full use of the powers vested in it, it did not take the situation in the oblast in hand, and it did not halt the dangerous development of the conflict. A negative role was played by the fact that the special form of administration was introduced only at oblast level. The absence of corresponding special administration structures in the autonomous oblast's main population centers enabled anti-perestroyka and extremist forces to act openly, without being resolutely rebuffed by the committee, and specific evidence of this can be seen in the fact that not a single one of the instigators of disturbances or leaders of strikes, unsanctioned rallies, and marches has been brought to book in the last 8 months. It was this impunity that made it impossible to improve and stabilize the situation, to ensure constitutional guarantees for citizens who were illegally dismissed from work on ethnic grounds or were expelled from their places of permanent residence, and most importantly to create reliable guarantees for people's tranquil life.

Matters reached the point where extremist forces, encouraged by the committee's noninterference, organized and convened a so-called "congress of the NKAO population's plenipotentiary representatives" which declared its refusal to recognize the NKAO's status as an autonomous oblast within the Azerbaijan SSR and proclaimed the oblast an "independent union territory." It was announced that the "national council" created by the congress was the sole people's power in the NKAO. A blatant attempt was thus made to encroach on state power. It is well known that, by its 26 August 1989 decision, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium made a political appraisal of this unconstitutional action in the NKAO and declared the decisions made by the so-called congress illegal. The resolution adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium convincingly reaffirmed the will of the Azerbaijani people and the republic's entire population as regards the indivisibility of the Azerbaijan SSR's territory.

One of the most tragic consequences of the interethnic conflict, which reached its peak in the course of the aforementioned events in November-December last year, was the mass and virtually total expulsion of Azerbaijanis from Armenia. As a result of violence committed against them, 165,000 Azerbaijanis were forced to abandon their places of residence in Armenia. This forcible expulsion essentially completed the hounding of the Azerbaijani population out of Armenian territory, which began decades ago.

We did not abandon our compatriots in their misfortune. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government adopted a series of major decisions aimed at satisfying the needs of migrants and resettling them. With the population's support, we embarked on large-scale work to help them, give them housing and employment, and reimburse the damage they had suffered. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet's previous session discussed this question and adopted a resolution on it, aimed at the accelerated solution of all these problems.

Despite all the complexity of the situation, despite the grave and tragic consequences of the incredibly long drawn-out conflict in and around the NKAO, we do not believe that the situation is hopeless. Our confidence stems from faith in the strength of the party and the Azerbaijani people's wisdom and self-possession, from the fact that the Constitution and historical justice are on the republic's side.

We proceed from the premise that the Nagorno-Karabakh question is not just a local matter but one which profoundly affects the interests and sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR and is directly associated with the interests of the USSR, which is a single, multinational state. The prevailing conflict is contrary to the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian populations and the representatives of other ethnic groups inhabiting the oblast and the republic. It is perfectly natural that Azerbaijan's people and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet perceive any attempts at one-sided examination of the Karabakh conflict and the demands and actions aimed at tearing the NKAO away from the Azerbaijan SSR as an encroachment on our republic's national-state structure, as a gross violation of the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty.

Consequently, the time has obviously come to take a more precise stance on the question of the oblast's political leadership. The special form of administration cannot last forever. This demands the elaboration of new approaches to solving the task of normalizing the situation in the NKAO on the basis of the restoration of legality and law and order. Finally, it is necessary to implement resolute measures to institute party and criminal proceedings against the instigators and organizers of interethnic clashes, the ringleaders of civil disobedience and illegal actions, those who seek to set up unconstitutional power structures, and so on. I think that these and other measures will make it possible to achieve a real breakthrough in the dangerous development of the conflict so as to extricate the autonomous oblast's Azerbaijani and Armenian populations from the state of hostile relations, ensure citizens' legal protection, free the population from moral terror by extremists, and create political prerequisites for solving the accumulated socioeconomic and cultural problems and untangling tight knots and contradictions.

We are convinced that there is not a single problem in the NKAO that cannot be resolved within the framework of the Azerbaijan SSR's existing national-state structure on the basis of implementation of economic and political reform, renewal of the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions, and consolidation of legal and political protection for the autonomous oblast's population. Our immediate goal is to create reliable political, economic, social, and legal guarantees enabling every citizen and the entire population of the autonomous

oblast to exercise their constitutional rights, freedoms, and duties; to adopt measures for the NKAO's accelerated socioeconomic development and the satisfaction of its population's national interests and needs; and to create favorable conditions for the preparation and holding of elections to oblast and local soviets of people's deputies and the resumption of activity by oblast party and soviet organs.

It is our belief that the way out of the prevailing situation lies only through the consolidation of our republic's healthy, patriotic forces around the idea of perestroyka, through the mobilization of Azerbaijan's working people for the consistent and persistent solution of long-term and immediate, vital problems of economic, social, and cultural development.

It is well known that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is under examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission. We expect its recommendations to show respect for the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty and take into account our determination to contribute actively to the normalization of the situation in the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO on a constitutional basis.

We must consider the numerous appeals by labor collectives, public organizations, and citizens demanding an end to interference in the republic's internal affairs and to disregard of the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty.

The situation prevailing in the autonomous oblast testifies that the special form of administration has not proved itself worthwhile there, the Special Administration Committee has not performed the tasks assigned to it, and this has led us to the conclusion that it is necessary to petition the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to abolish it.

Yeltsin Denies 'Rumors' of Assault

LD1110092389 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] A member of the Soviet parliament, Boris Yeltsin, has denied rumors that he is in a bad state of health following an assault by hoodlums. The rumors have been prompted by his absence from the Supreme Soviet for several days. The authorities say they have no information on the matter.

Boris Yeltsin said in an interview with the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS that he had caught a slight cold during his trip to America and had to stay home.

Latvian People's Front 2d Congress Summed Up

PM1010135589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Irina Litvinova dispatch under the rubric "Direct Line": "Second Congress of Latvian People's Front"]

[Text] Riga—The second congress of the Latvian People's Front was held here 7-8 October. It adopted a new program and statute and elected the leading organs of the Latvian People's Front. "We have reached the point where the People's Front must take real responsibility for the political, economic, social, and national situation in the republic," Daynis Ivans, chairman of the Latvian People's Front, said, defining its role.

Together with the other delegates (1,046 of them, of whom 24 percent were CPSU members and 94.5 percent were Latvians), the chairman of the People's Front analyzed ways to achieve the main aim of the Latvian People's Front at the new stage: "the restoration of Latvia's state independence and the creation of a democratic, parliamentary republic."

The economy, politics, the nationalities issue, human rights, and the rights of the nation—these subjects were raised at the congress and discussed from new angles. The economic model of the future state, the program indicates, will be based on private ownership. The introduction of the republic's own monetary unit is mentioned as a guarantee of the new economic system.

The congress demanded that the republic's Supreme Soviet recognize as illegal the 14-15 July 1940 elections to the Latvian People's Sejm and their results and that it deem the declarations on the formation of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and its incorporation into the USSR as "null and void from the moment of their adoption."

USSR People's Deputy Daynis Ivans was reelected chairman of the Latvian People's Front.

Front's Demands Explored

PM1010190189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent O. Meshkov "Notes From Latvian People's Front Congress": "Without Dramatizing the Situation"]

[Text] Riga—Remembering last year's Latvian People's Front [LPF] constituent congress, many of the republic's nonindigenous nationality inhabitants had been awaiting with alarm and apprehension the Saturday and Sunday for which this organization's 2d congress was scheduled: Would there really be renewed calls for an immediate end to the occupation and for Russians to leave Latvia? It is gratifying that those fears were not confirmed.

Delivering the report on the national aspect of the new LPF program's draft, Duma Board member V. Dozortsev said that many problems in this sphere have been resolved over the past year: For example, the Law on the State Language has been adopted, and measures to stop the population's artificial migration have been legitimated and are being realized. For this reason, it is said, the national problem has not been stressed in the new People's Front program.

Indeed, talk of the red-white-red flag, of a new anthem, and of demands for Lettish to be granted state language status—talk which one year ago put a section of the republic's population almost in a state of shock—is now taken very calmly. Sports commentators sometimes say this of a soccer match: Play is apparently proceeding calmly, but you can sense an inner tension. Thus, at the 2d LPF Congress outwardly everything was quite calm and peaceful, but you could distinctly sense the inner drama. Criticisms were being leveled increasingly frequently at People's Front leader D. Ivans while radical members of the LPF and the Movement for Latvia's National Independence are already accusing the present leadership of not being active enough. And it was no coincidence that calls for consolidation and reminders that a split will have unpredictable consequences in the present situation were heard so frequently at the congress.

To be honest, I personally do not understand these rebukes: How could they be more active? Here are just a few demands and points contained in the new LPF program.

"The LPF demands that the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet recognize as illegal the elections to the Latvian People's Sejm held in the presence of occupying troops 14-15 July 1940 and Latvia's incorporation in the USSR, and as invalid from the moment they were adopted the enactments which legitimatized the Latvian Republic's annexation."

"The LPF demands that the supreme organ of state power in Latvia be accorded the right to suspend USSR laws on the territory of Latvia." "The LPF demands the suspension of organizations and parties organizationally subordinate to the USSR or other countries." "The LPF demands the radical demilitarization of Latvia's territory." "The LPF supports the creation of equitable juridical, economic, and social conditions for state, collective, and private ownership, particularly by encouraging private economic activity."

I remember interviewing A. Ruch, leader of the People's Front support group at the "Avtoelektropribor" Plant, at the beginning of the summer after the LPF Duma Board statement proposing that its members discuss the idea of Latvia's secession from the USSR. At the time the activist declared that he would leave the People's Front if such a point were written into the new program.

Well, the new program does not directly mention the need for immediate secession from the USSR, although the idea of creating an independent sovereign state does permeate the majority of the program's sections and was proclaimed very frequently in the speeches. In his report, LPF leader D. Ivans spoke of various possible ways to further develop Latvia's statehood. And he preferred the parliamentary path of the phased formation of a truly independent Latvian Republic through the election of active LPF supporters to all organs of power. This is clearly what the radicals dislike—you will set up, they say, a stronger bureaucracy than the former one, while at the same time the party apparatus will crush you beneath itself. And, as though fanning these sentiments, one of the foreign guests at the congress—a Lettish emigre—said: Why are you afraid to break away at once?—Yes, it will be hard, but we too had a hard time when we were starting to build the Latvian state in the twenties, and yet we managed.

The report delivered by Academician A. Kalnynsh, who in the past initiated the creation of rayon agroindustrial associations in the republic and the country, also sounded in unison with that statement. The title of his report was "On the Functioning of Latvia's Economy Under Extreme Conditions"—that is to say, detached from the union. The academician began with the main point—Latvia's organically strong economic link with the USSR. For example, he pointed out that the fraternal republics provide us with 100 percent of our diesel fuel and the lion's share of our electricity. Yes, he said, breaking off economic relations with the USSR will bring us a lot of difficulties, but this will stimulate our own development. The academician concluded, Western states are hardly ready to help the Baltic region now. I do not think that throwing someone into the river is the best way to teach him to swim. Is it sensible to take a risk when talking of a people's destiny? In my opinion, this was the form of the inner drama of the 2d LPF Congress, the drama of the moment we are living through.

I realize that the entire course of the congress and its tone and direction were carefully thought out, because it was taking place on the eve of elections. The republic's population is now very occupied with the question of how the problem of its sovereignty and its free and fruitful development for the good of all the peoples who live on Latvian territory will be resolved, and whether it will be resolved. The report of Academician Kalnynsh, who aroused, I believe, a sense of alarm not only in the Russian-speaking population but also in certain Letts, was conceived and made not by chance. It is a very great pity that the idea that the federation's potential for creating a truly democratic union is by no means exhausted was not heard clearly at the congress. But here I recall the rebuke that is usually addressed to a luckless literary critic who criticizes a work for not containing what he views the essential thoughts or characters....

Latvia's inhabitants will now be able to compare the two concepts and the two action programs for renewing life in the republic advanced by its Communist Party and People's Front. The first of them strikes me personally as more considered and realistic. Of course, everyone will make his own choice. May the realism of one program or the other and its regard for vital realities serve for everyone as the chief criterion of its correctness.

Program Examined

LD0910185689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] The restoration of the independence of the Latvian state and the formation of a democratic parliamentary republic—this how the People's Front of the

republic formulates its aims in the new program adopted at its second congress which finished today. If emotion had the upper hand at the first constituent congress, then the current one was notable for its sober calculation and was more reminiscent of a scientific and practical conference at which a realistic model for the construction of an independent Latvia was drawn up.

In the first program the task of the republic's attaining genuine sovereignity within the Soviet Federation was set. However, on 31 May 1989 the board of the council [Duma] of the People's Front virtually called for a battle to be initiated for Latvia's complete political and economic independence. Such an abrupt turn provoked many protests by the republic's inhabitants. Latvia's leadership was also critical of this call. It seems the acuteness of the first perception has now passed. Besides, delegates of the congress, in the hall were Gorbunov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Bresis, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, who spoke in the debates.

Ivans—member of the CPSU, 34 year-old journalist and people's deputy—was for a second time elected chairman of the Latvian People's Front. He ran against the composer Kanysh, one of the leaders of the radical movement for the national independence of Latvia. We hope for unity with everyone to whom Latvia and its independence is dear, who wants to see it an independent and civilized state, Ivans said at the congress. It is unlikely that Latvians will feel good if at the same time things are bad for the representatives of other peoples living in the republic.

Latvians Consider RAF-Chrysler Deal

LD1010163689 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Riga October 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

Latvians have joined the dialogue between two automobile firms—RAF in Yelgava, Latvia, which produces popular Soviet micro-buses, and the American Chrysler company.

Their lively interest in plans to build a "Latvian Detroit" on the basis of RAF with the U.S. automobile giant's cooperation is perfectly understandable. They know well what followed when large plants were put up in their republic, known to be short of local manpower.

The management of these enterprises recruited labour all over the Soviet Union which aggravated the demographic situation and housing problem in Latvia, worsened the ecological climate. "And what will happen now? worried Latvians want to know: "If we let the genie out of the 'RAF-Chrysler' bottle, will we be able to handle it?"

Yes, says Viktor Bossert, the RAF general director. An engineer from Omsk (eastern Siberia), he was elected to head the enterprise two years ago. He realises that the people of the republic have the right to discuss any questions affecting their destinies. To explain their views, he and his team have arranged several meetings with the people of Yelgava and have addressed them on TV.

His arguments are simple. Today micro-buses bring home convertible currency. Any goods in short supply can be received in exchange for them. The republic will stand only to gain if Chrysler technologies help to boost the output of new internationally competitive automobiles to 40-50 thousand instead of the present 17,000.

Viktor Bossert is sure that modern technology will keep down the number of people employed at the enterprise, will make it ecologically cleaner, will increase its contribution to the republic's budget. These arguements appear to be irrefutable. Nevertheless, the lessons of past mistakes compel the people to carefully weigh every step. Viktor Bossert and his opponents are unanimous on one point: RAF urgently needs urgent reconstruction and the people need firm guarantees that they will benefit from it.

It is a time of dialogue in Latvia today. Constant meetings with broad audiences are being called by party functionaries and representatives of public movements. Discussions are telecast and published in the press. New models of the future republic are sought through heated debates. The road of dialogue is difficult, but there is no alternative, just as there is no alternative to society's democratisation.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Continues Session

LD0610223889 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Tallinn October 6 TASS—The Estonian Supreme Soviet (Parliament) today continued its session here.

The session has discussed deputies' interpellations about the energy programme, production of shales, the condition of general education schools, the right of national ownership of land, environment and natural resources.

Explanations on all these questions have been provided and relevant decisions were taken. The session has also examined letters and applications sent to the Supreme Soviet by working people.

This done, deputies decided to make an intermission in order to work in more detail on the draft laws with which they became acquainted on the first day of the session, to discuss them with their electorate and specialists.

Tallinn Citizens' Committee Established

LD0810015789 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 23 Sep 89 p. 3

[Article by Toomas H. Liiv: On the Activity of the Citizens' Committee]

[Excerpts] On Thursday [21 September] the Tallinn Citizens' Committee of the Republic of Estonia was established. For this purpose representatives of the 17 already established regional committees of Tallinn gathered in the hall of the ETKVL [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Union of Consumer Societies] in Narva Maantee.

Tunne Kelam, the ideological leader of the movement of Estonian Citizens' Committees [EKK] gave a political speech. He claimed that the official side, that is, the existing government, has not succeeded in proposing anything to replace their movement. Tunne Kelman admitted the official side keeps developing but says the crisis is developing even faster.

By now, more than 250,000 citizens of the Republic of Estonia have been registered in Estonia, as well as many applicants for citizenship. [The basic principle of the movement is the idea that only those people who were citizens of the Republic of Estonia as of 17 June 1940 and thier descendents can decide about the future of Estonia] In Tallinn, however, only 60,000 people have registered (with Nomme excluded).

It was also emphasized this time that the Estonian Citizens' Committees movement does not exclude cooperation with the existing structures of power; also, compromises are considered possible in respect to certain issues. Before the end of the year, it is desired to up the Estonian Citizens' Chief Committee, whose logical turn it would be to convene the Estonian Congress.

There are 37 people in the freshly established Tallinn Citizens' Committee of the Republic of Estonia. Seventeen were delegated by local committees; the remaining twenty were elected at the meeting from among the candidates who had previously been nominated. Among those elected were, for example, Tunne Kelam and Mati Kiirend (both of Estonian National Independence Party), Trivimi Velliste (Estonian Society for the Preservation of the National Heritage), Oleg Bazanov, Valeriy Kalabugin and Erik Boltowski [all of the Estonian People's Front; the Russian speaking readership would know them also as the creators of the ERR Vestnik]. [passage omitted]

As seen from above, the composition of the activists of citizens' committees is very diverse; missing from it are hardly any representatives of any political movements. The EKK movement has gone beyond the framework of its founder organizations (Estonian Society for Preservation of the National Heritage, Estonian National Independence Party, and the Estonian Christian Union). Time will show what will become of it.

Workers Discuss Interethnic Tensions in Estonia

18001643 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Roundtable discussion with Estonian and Russian workers on interethnic issues, moderated by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondents M. Rostarchuk and S. Tarakanov: "Difficult Road to a Dialogue"]

[Text] **A tense sociopolitical situation which has emerged in the republics of the Soviet Baltic Area is causing alarm and concern all over the country among the people of different nationalities.**

At the invitation of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, Estonians and Russians taking different views of the situation which has emerged gathered at a "roundtable" in Tallinn: L. Kazakov (milling machine operator at the "Engine" Plant), V. Kiyemets (chief specialist of the Goskomtopenergo [State Committee for Fuel and Energy]), O. Kuklin (fitter-instument maker at the Pegelman Electrotechnical Works), S. Solodilov (adjuster of control and monitoring equipment at the same plant), U. Tyulp (driver, the "Engine" Plant), A. Shibin (crane operator of the Estonian Maritime Shipping Line), and P. Ukhtyarv (electrician at the "Punane Koyt" Plant).

SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. The attitude toward the political strike is far from unambiguous: An absolute majority of Estonians condemns it; some in the Russian-language community do not support it either....

V. Kiyemets. Indeed, a strike is the most extreme method of fighting for your demands, especially in a socialist state. After all, we say that the people's power reigns in our country. It means that by striking you go against yourself. What is the issue? It is that the principles of socialism have been infringed upon, against which the striking labor collectives rose up, having exhausted all other means. In this case, I believe that the strike was legitimate.

A. Shibin. The reasons for the current opposition of the two main language communities in Estonia are unnatural and pernicious for her; its origins are to be sought in the events of recent years. Some representatives of the local intelligentsia lapsed into a state of political euphoria on account of the opportunities offered by perestroyka and glasnost, which was exploited by adventurers and right-wing extremists, the froth of perestroyka. It seems to me that only now, when the situation has become extremely tense, the leadership of the republic and the People's Front of Estonia are beginning to understand that reality is not at all what they imagined it to be.

However, what has been done is done! The image of an enemy of the Estonian people in the person of the Russian-speaking "migrant," as well as the entire nonindigenous population, has been created.

L. Kazakov.I ask myself: Why did I decide to go on strike? I had reason enough to do that. Let us begin with the fact that this year, on the eve of Soviet Army Day, the state flag of Estonia was removed on the sly, under the cover of darkness, from the "Long Herman" Tower. I am striking against the wave of vandalism and scoffing at what is dear to me sweeping the Baltic Area: In Lithuania, they have removed and sent to be melted down the tank-memorial to the soldier-liberators and publicly burned an effigy dressed in the form of a Soviet soldier. Here, in Estonia, a monument dedicated to Estonian fascists has been erected.

I am striking against my son, who was born here and who is now completing his service in the Soviet army, being deprived of the right to vote when he comes back, against my daughter, who is graduating from a vocational trade school with honors, being forced to work as a general laborer rather than in her trade due to the poor knowledge of the Estonian language—this is how badly the teaching of it is organized in schools.

I have lived in Estonia for more than 30 years. I work at a plant where everyone speaks Russian. Even if I, no longer a young man, having stood my 8 hours at the machine tool, start studying Estonian at my own expense, where am I to use it? At the plant, in my brigade, I do not need it; my friends and acquaintances speak Russian. Anyway, I will forget it again soon.

P. Ukhtyarv. The knowledge of the Estonian and Russian languages is mandatory in the service sphere, in offices, in places where they work with the public. I explain the strict deadlines by the fact that decades have been wasted, and the Estonian language has already disappeared from many spheres of communication. After all, we've got to start somewhere!

L. Kazakov. However, we should not start all at once, abruptly. A couple days ago, I called the emergency repair service, and they, hearing me speak Russian, hung up on me.

P. Ukhtyarv. This is stupid, of course. In a place such as the emergency repair service, things like this should not happen.

V. Kiyemets. This is how the Intermovement proposes to solve this problem—so that an Estonian grandmother would not run into a saleswoman who speaks Russian only, and so that the fire department would not turn you down if you address them in Russian. The right and opportunity to use the language of the indigenous population or the Russian language as the means of interethnic communication, depending on one's wishes, should definitely be guaranteed by an office or enterprise rather than a private person. In other words, there have got to be people there who speak the customer's language. Bilingualism should be ensured without discrimination in hiring.

A. Shibin. However, advertisements have already appeared: Estonian-speaking seamstress-operators wanted. Meanwhile, the Law on the Language says that new requirements will not apply to rank-and-file employees. Let us recall the recent decision of the republic Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] on the right of the management to fire [employees] by reason of poor knowledge of the Estonian language—despite being canceled, it has done a lot to fuel passions!

SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. Do the Estonians understand that the Russian-speaking populace is beginning to feel the lack of social and political safety and a threat to its way of life?

P. Ukhtyarv. There is such an understanding.

U. Tyulp.I am an Estonian, just a driver, who has not even graduated from secondary school. I am taking part for the first time in such a conversation sponsored by a central newspaper. I am not a member of any of the mass movements. For 40 years now, I have been working at the "Engine" Plant among Russians, and I have never felt infringed upon in some manner. However, at present I am constantly thinking about the reason why we cannot find a common language, find the truth, and we have come to have what is going on now in the republic. Everyone should hold himself accountable. This is where we have got to begin. We must look for a common path of agreement rather than hostility since we are going along the path of perestroyka and want to change the state of affairs in the state as a whole.

L. Kazakov.I agree with Comrade Tyulp, but I would like to stress the following: We, the Russians, live here in Estonia and respect the people of the indigenous nationality. I wanted to say "the masters of this land," but I do not like this word: If there is a master, there must be someone else....

V. Kiyemets. ...There has got to be a hired hand if there is a master!

U. Tyulp. What you are saying is wrong; such expressions should be eliminated! At present, many people are demanding courses, textbooks, and teachers of Estonian, and I agree that all of it is needed. However, the desire to study our language is also necessary. Previously, it used to be like that: An Estonian was supposed to know Russian, but a non-Estonian was not obliged, though living in Estonia.

S. Solodilov.I was born in Estonia more than 30 years ago. I studied in an Estonian school for just 1 year—in the 5th grade....

SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. It would have been better to start in a day-care center.

S. Solodilov. So, I took my son to an Estonian day-care center.

SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. However, most of the Russian-speaking inhabitants of Estonia are still not up to this.

S. Solodilov. I have been thinking a lot about the situation which has emerged in Estonia. Indeed, a mass arrival of people from other republics occurred who did not at all take interest in or reckoned with the habits, traditions, or problems of indigenous population. For example, I began to study the Estonian language on my own when I felt such a need. However, this is a unique example. What did we have? An abstract friendship of peoples. In the Russian school, I was told that the Estonian nation has no prospects—their birth rate is low, and their language is disappearing.

There was no demand to study the Estonian language from either the top or the bottom. They drummed one concept into us—one country, one nation, one language, one party. If someone objected to such ethnic leveling, he was declared a nationalist, and even a bourgeois nationalist, with all the ensuing consequences. This is the root of the problem.

The issue would not have been resolved for a long time had it not been for perestroyka. The democratization of sociopolitical life and glasnost have finally made it possible to state the civil and nationality rights of the people. Hence the growth of nationality self-awareness, which comes as a surprise to many people. The mental inertia is a factor: The Russian has always been the elder brother, he has liberated everyone, he has been helping everyone—giving an alphabet to some, and building a plant for others.... Meanwhile, there are quite a few Estonians who believe that Estonia joined the Soviet Union under the pressure of Red Army units; others have personally experienced Stalinist repressions, deportation, forced collectivization, ecological, and demographic aggression by the central ministries—and all of this is causing hidden resistance. These are the origins of the current antagonism. There are groups holding extreme views on both sides.

So, the Intermovement has appeared. Had it undertaken to defend the interests of the indigenous population and the Estonian language the Estonians would have been grateful to it. However, it defends the interests of the Russian-speaking community categorically and in the form of an ultimatum. As a result, the current political strikes have only exacerbated the gulf between the the two language communities (I voted against this at the meeting of the labor collective of our plant). The strikers are against the decision of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. By now, many of the Estonians who used to treat the Russians more or less loyally have developed a hostile disposition.

L. Kazakov. Do you believe that the Law on Elections is democratic?

S. Solodilov. I believe it is acceptable to most of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia. I believe that many Russian-speaking workers joined the strike out of ethnic solidarity.

L. Kazakov. I believe that the following principle has got to be proclaimed: The equality of nations. Then there will be no confrontation, and we will not walk the tightrope but will rather walk together down the road of perestroyka. Thus far, the leadership of the republic has been thinking one thing, saying another one, and doing yet another one.

O. Kuklin. At present, two forces oppose each other in the political arena of the republic: The People's Front and the United Council of Labor Collectives (OSTK). There are fringe, extremist factions in both of them. A dialogue between them is the only way out. This is a very difficult way, but we must take it.

A. Shibin. The creation of the Intermovement turned out to be a cold shower for the hotheads, but the final sobering-up after the nationalist intoxication has not come about. Only a political strike lasting many days has forced the leadership of the republic to "notice" that "a large proportion of members of Russian-speaking collectives is seriously concerned about the situation, about its future in Estonia." It was even publicly acknowledged that the leadership "has not managed to fully take into account the growth of nationality self-consciousness among the indigenous population of the republic, its striving to actively take part in public life." Excuse me, but in civilized countries the government resigns following such admissions, whereas here investigators of the procuracy were dispatched to striking enterprises.

I could quote thousands of cases when not only the Russian-speaking populace, but the Russian people as a whole were insulted in the press, on the radio, and on TV. The "migrants" have allowed nothing of that kind to occur with regard to the Estonian people and its national symbols.

The model of republic economic accountability envisages nationalization, changes in production lines, and even liquidation of enterprises reporting to union ministries, the creation of a legion of the unemployed—that is to say, measures directly aimed at crowding a majority of the Russian-speaking population out of Estonia.

U. Tyulp. We must find a way toward a mutual understanding of the fact that Estonia, just as the entire Soviet Union, is our common house. It is time to overcome the crisis situation which both our republic and others have entered.

SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. How do you view the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the republics of the Soviet Baltic Area?

P. Ukhtyarv. I believe that this declaration has only served to aggravate interethnic relations. It has negated everything good that is done in the republic. Also, you cannot consider the entire Estonian people extremists. Such evaluations fan the flames and prompt the people to go over to the civic committees, to the Party of National Independence of Estonia.

A. Shibin. The declaration should not be viewed as excessively harsh criticism of the political situation in the Baltic area. This is a balanced document which does not contain any threats, expresses faith in the common sense of the people, and stresses the responsibility of the communists to history and the coming generations.

It should be understood clearly that the current confrontation amounts only to the first shoots of what has been sown in Estonia and other Baltic republics. If those who have sown the seeds of discord will go on fertilizing and watering them, then they can expect to reap the grapes of wrath. This cannot be allowed to happen.

EDITORIAL NOTE. This difficult conversation has taken place around the "roundtable" of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. It has reflected to a great degree the seething passions and the polarity of opinions in the public life of the Soviet Baltic Area. At the same time, it has also shown the increasing understanding of the fact that the time has come to arrest the fatal course of events and shift from opposition to a dialogue, to looking for difficult but necessary solutions. There is no alternative but to reach a consensus.

Lithuania's Astrauskas Supreme Soviet Speech

PM0610142589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 23 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

["On the Political Situation in the Republic. Report by Deputy Vytautas Astrauskas, Chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium," at the first sitting of the 13th session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, in Vilnius on 22 September 1989]

[Text] Esteemed deputies!
Esteemed session participants!

The fact that our session begins its work with a declaration on the political situation in the republic testifies to the complexity and importance of the present moment in time.

Few people nowadays could have any doubts that perestroyka, launched at the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev personally, is the starting point and stimulus for most of the social processes under way in Lithuania. Its development within the country and the response to it in the international arena constitute the living background, comprising diverse interests, against which the spiritual, political, and material aspirations of people and peoples are manifested.

Perestroyka in Lithuania, which encountered difficulties at its initial stage, has crossed the first thresholds of old forms and stereotypes and has swollen into a mighty stream.

Sociopolitical activity, which used to be the prerogative of a relatively narrow circle of people, mainly apparatus officials, has been invaded by the broad masses, and representatives of different professions and peoples have openly and loudly expressed their opinion, deeply rooted in experience. The activity of "Sajudis" and other informal movements has significantly galvanized our sociopolitical life by means of original ideas and programs.

The objective historical truth is being revealed, the path we have traveled and our achievements and mistakes are being scrutinized, and landmarks for the future are being planned in the process of creating a democratic rule-of-law state and developing glasnost. People are gradually realizing that the implementation of freedom and social justice and the renewal of socialist society based on humanitarian principles are possible only in close cooperation among all political forces, in the quest for non-standard solutions.

But the practical steps in the sphere of renewing the political system, the economy, and the social sphere are uneven. The processes now under way are distinguished by contradictions and by different responses from different strata of society. Some of them, in a hurry to eliminate the causes of the crisis in which the country has found itself, suggest hasty and not always justified methods for getting out of this situation and want to build everything from scratch, disregarding all the good that has been achieved in the past. Others see signs of socialism's destruction everywhere and essentially advocate old methods. Maximalism and ambitions still—and all too often—hinder constructive and cohesive work.

Of course, the implementation of reforms has always produced supporters, as well as time-servers and demagogues. As glasnost develops, we perceive a multiplicity of opinions, at times contradictory and confused, maybe detached from people's vital interests but intriguing in their originality, or speculating on political terminology. At times it can be difficult to detect the rational element in such ideas.

This is how those who today hold themselves to be defenders of Soviet power, as well as those who totally disregard it, sometimes behave.

It must be noted that the standard of our culture in the broad sense of the word and the tradition of unanimity of views noticeably fetter normal debate and mutual understanding. While noting the contribution made by the mass media to the acceleration of perestroyka and the development of glasnost, we could wish that the press, television, and radio provided more objective coverage of the development of sociopolitical life, really created conditions enabling people to express different opinions, and rallied them to the common cause.

While looking into the future, we cannot fail to take into account the realities and circumstances of the present. The situation in the republic can be described as difficult, even complex, but not critical. Of course, hardly anyone would make so bold as to guarantee that the situation would not become more complex unless conditions were realistically evaluated. And conditions are

steadily rendered more complex by the failure to improve the state of affairs in the economy and the extreme demands to revise history, wiping off entire decades and people's achievements. There are some who try to rush ahead without taking reality and objective conditions into account, primarily as regards the solution of political problems. There are some who artificially create confrontations, insult people, and sow mistrust among different peoples.

The republic's deputies are working under difficult conditions, seeing that attempts are made to influence their feelings through pressure or to give them guidelines supposedly on behalf of the voters. Such actions are impermissible in relations with parliamentarians. And they must be abandoned.

To put it briefly, we are facing hard and closely interlinked problems.

This is why we deputies, when analyzing the situation and discussing the drafts of our own resolutions, must not take leave of our common sense and must work with a great sense of responsibility for the republic's future and perestroyka's success.

Important steps along the path of reforms have been taken by the Supreme Soviet in close cooperation with representatives of science and production, public organizations, the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, and lately with the USSR people's deputies. Their importance is not fleeting. In terms of their long-term effect, they go beyond the framework of the present. What I have in mind are documents adopted this year like the amendments to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution, the declaration on Lithuania's state sovereignty, and the laws on fundamentals of the republic's economic autonomy, on peasants' farms, and others. At the same time, this stage of work is also significant in practical terms. Thanks to it, we have created prerequisites for transition from theoretical generalities to real practical actions to establish autonomy.

Of course, we can already see that the path to economic autonomy is not all that easy: Obstacles are encountered, the barriers of centralism have not yet been overcome, and numerous difficult problems remain unsolved. The Supreme Soviet is addressing these questions once more today. We must affirm our determination and the provisions it is planned to raise in the country's parliament.

We believe that our paramount and most important task still is to implement the republic's economic autonomy. This is the foundation of Lithuania's future.

This is why we ourselves, without waiting for instructions from above, must constructively resolve everything that depends on our own administration, scientific and production forces, and society's activeness. The Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments, and local organs of power have major worries. Time itself is pressing for the creation of new organs of production management, of a flexible and efficient management system to ensure that production potential is fully utilized, scientific and technical progress is encouraged, people's creative initiative is developed, and—on this basis—their material and social needs are better satisfied.

Of course, the present stage is not easy either in production or in daily life. People experience sundry shortages on a daily basis—basic goods are in short supply, and there is no improvement as regards the housing problem. Therefore, republican and local organs of power must make better and more resolute use of all reserves and must do everything possible to help the population.

It is obvious that there are difficulties everywhere, maybe even mistakes, but there are also sound initiatives and deeds in Lithuania on which we can rely. The main point is that Lithuania's inhabitants are as industrious as ever; they are not losing heart. This gratifies us.

Of course, we—just like the country as a whole—have no grounds for remaining satisfied with our economic indicators. But I am convinced that we deputies and all participants in this session must express gratitude to the republic's workers and peasants and to its scientific and creative community for the fact that there were hardly any disruptions of the labor pace during a crucial period for the republic, that the heartbeat of creative unions and organizations remains strong. This is indisputable. All this strengthens hope and offers specific proof that society is aware of the importance of the present and realizes that slogans alone will not help in creating a strong economy up to world standards or, even less, in implementing multifarious political reforms.

In pursuit of perestroyka's goals, the Lithuanian Communist Party, the republic's Supreme Soviet, and the government have firmly opted for the path of sovereignty. This is always one of the most difficult political problems in a federative state. It is no accident that this is now the topic of quite heated debates, seeing that hitherto the republics' sovereignty was nothing but a formal constitutional declaration without any specific content. We realized this from our own experience.

The promulgation of an absolute truth and the rejection of everything else are unacceptable in sociopolitical activity in the conditions of democracy and glasnost.

For example, not all the documents of the party Central Committee plenum which just ended have been published yet, but voices can already be heard expressing their disappointment with it. An opinion is taking shape that the plenum introduced nothing new in the sphere of nationalities policy which is so topical for everyone.

I think that, given an attitude of good will, it is possible to discover many rational ideas which must be utilized to improve interethnic relations. Especially since the Central Committee plenum outlined political stipulations, while the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have to lay the legal foundations for this policy.

The stipulations of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum make it clear that the party's line of giving a new content to the Soviet federation offers qualitatively new opportunities for the republics' autonomy. For example, a package of measures is proposed whose objective is to consolidate the political autonomy of union republics and give their sovereignty a real content. There will be a demarcation of powers between union and republic organs of power. This will enable the republics to resolve many issues at their own discretion.

On the other hand, appropriate political mechanisms will reinforce the participation of republican organs of power in the solution of questions falling within the USSR's competence.

It was noted at the plenum that it is very important to provide legal guarantees enabling republics to influence union affairs. It was emphasized that this must also be reflected in cadre policy.

Of course, the plenum examined the basic ways for renewing the federation. This may not necessarily satisfy everyone. Not all questions were answered. Nonetheless, the party took a clear and specific stance on numerous issues. Failing to recognize this would mean going to extremes. There can be no doubt that their implementation will be a complex process. Numerous interests are interwoven in it. I would like to believe that our scientists and specialists in the sphere of law and the practice of state work and administration will also submit valuable conclusions and suggestions. All this will have to be done in the course of expanding and deepening perestroyka.

The fundamental principles of the Soviet federation's perestroyka, as stipulated by the plenum, give Lithuania and other republics hope that sovereignty will be established in the political, social, and economic sense. This must certainly have a positive effect on the general political situation in the republic. It is no secret, Comrades, that some people nowadays associate Lithuania's sovereignty only with a withdrawal from the USSR. Bombastic words. But let us pause and think: Is this correct?

You see, Lithuania today is closely linked with the union economy by means of numerous bonds. It would be absurd to break them. Declarations alone will not create a sovereign Lithuania, nor will they enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination. This is a complex process, conditioned by many economic, political, and finally international factors.

Unfortunately, some even more extreme statements can be heard, whipping up passions, inciting people, and confusing the young. How else could one describe these slogans which were heard at some rallies: "Better dead than slaves!" or "We have nothing to lose!"

At the same time, I would like to say that we receive numerous letters which not only condemn this kind of political attack and rash action, but also contain reminders that it is useless to waste energy and intellectual effort on sundry squabbles. Many people realize that this could create a split within society and cause conflicts between different strata of the population. Alas, such attempts are being made, especially in the sphere of ethnic relations.

People of many nationalities have settled and lived in Lithuania through the centuries. They have developed traditions of living together, and their joint labor has helped to build up and enrich Lithuania's economy and culture. We know many famous people—Russians, Poles, Jews, Karaim, Germans, Letts, and Belorussians—who have contributed to our science, art, and literature and have gone down in our country's history.

Nowadays, the new generations of people of different nationalities who have grown up since the war are becoming increasingly fluent in the Lithuanian language and can find their way in the most complex twists and turns of our history. To put it briefly, they are aware of Lithuania's specific national features and respect its traditions and customs.

There would seem to be no grounds for confrontation. We all are equal. But some unhealthy sentiments have also surfaced recently. Attempts are being made to split the population along nationality lines, to seek culprits for sundry grievances, and simply to disrupt the normal atmosphere and sincere human relations prevailing in different parts of Soviet Lithuania.

The creation of new territorial units occupies what I would describe as a strange position in a series of complex phenomena occurring in the republic. Shalchininkskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons, where Poles comprise the bulk of the population, have resorted to this measure. Lithuanian citizens of Polish nationality are also experiencing a national revival now. Unfortunately, some people are trying to transform the wonderful and noble national ideas into a tool for whipping up ethnic tension. In actual fact, they are assisting the forces which would profit from an unstable situation and a split within society.

I would like to emphasize that the idea of creating a Polish national area in Lithuania cannot be seen as either productive or correct. This cannot solve the social and economic problems of rayons in the Vilnius region or the questions of the Polish community's spiritual and cultural life. Such unresolved questions really exist in these rayons. But the republic's leadership, the party organs, and the public intend to efficiently solve the questions concerning residents of these rayons.

The proclamation of the aforementioned territorial autonomous units is illegal; it is contrary to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and other laws. People became alarmed when they heard this news; they perceived an attempt to divide what was already a small territory and the peoples living there. Their letters expressed disapproval of these decisions.

Of course, there is no need to overdramatize the facts. We must continue the dialogue and prevent the fanning of seats of ethnic dissension.

On the other hand, today it is expedient to emphasize that the principle we proclaimed at the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Supreme Soviet session remains in force: Lithuania is indivisible, and there is no provision for any other administrative units within the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. That is why the Supreme Soviet Presidium yesterday adopted a resolution declaring the decision by soviets in the aforementioned rayons ineffective. I believe that the resolution adopted yesterday must be graciously accepted. The republic's leadership reaffirmed that these rayons' problems can be solved through joint efforts.

At the same time, it is necessary to make a few remarks about the state language. This has recently again become the topic of debate in some rayons and labor collectives. There are, of course, some justified wishes. This applies especially to conditions for people wishing to learn Lithuanian. But it is impossible to accept the attempts by persons whose official duties bring them in daily contact with people to prove that knowledge of Lithuanian is not mandatory for them.

In its own turn, the problem of studying Lithuanian also has its own specific features, which are not taken into account always and everywhere. This gives rise to complaints. Indeed, the introduction of the state language in Kaunas, Shyaulyay, Panevezhis, and other rayons must be subject to different regulations from Vilnius, Snechkus, and Klaypeda. This is another reality that must be taken into account.

Today I would like to emphasize again that there are and there will be no obstacles to any of the ethnic minorities on the republic's territory using their native language and creating national spiritual values. The reality of this can be seen in the example of different peoples' cultural societies and associations. Of course, there are problems everywhere. But they must be examined on the basis of the principles of realism, mutual understanding, tolerance, and good will. Groundless accusations and excessive emotions only complicate their solution. There are examples of this.

For instance, enterprises in some places use every occasion to hastily resort to radical actions, threaten with political strikes, and issue ultimatum demands to the republic's leadership.

But how can ultimatums and strikes promote restructuring, seeing that labor discipline is in any event far from ideal? During the first 6 months alone, the incidence of absenteeism in industry and the construction industry almost doubled compared with the same period last year. How can such behavior raise the living standards of Lithuania's population, resolve economic difficulties, and consolidate democracy?

It is well known that quite a few acute questions are due to be discussed at our present session. I hope that deputies will display lofty responsibility and political wisdom in the adoption of documents, because the political situation in the republic depends on this to a great extent.

Of course, different attitudes to published draft laws or adopted decisions are possible in conditions of glasnost and pluralism. But every debate or dispute must be backed by sound arguments, which must be constructive and aimed primarily at promoting what unites society.

We are prompted toward a businesslike and considered debate also by the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics. Almost a month has passed since then, passions have cooled down somewhat, and there are opportunities to ponder the problems and evaluate our words and actions in a broader context.

Even though many of us were perturbed by the rigid stipulations and generalized conclusions of the Central Committee statement, Comrade Deputies, we must call on people not to get excited, to maintain their dignity and self-control.

The real contemporary situation, not only in our country but also in the world, makes it incumbent on us deputies to soberly evaluate our state stance. We must not forget that the interests and political priorities of European and other countries are associated with their desire to support M.S. Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka and his concept of new political thinking, which creates preconditions for strengthening mutual trust between countries in international relations.

We must not ignore the USSR's line in domestic and foreign policy and rashly demand the withdrawal of military subunits from Lithuania's territory. We must always bear in mind that stability in today's world is inseparably linked with military parity.

It is to be regretted that extremist calls were heard at rallies held in Lithuania last summer. Improper actions were committed toward Soviet Army soldiers during some events which were organized with good intentions. This is especially irritating, seeing that the leadership of military subunits has the good will and inclination to engage in businesslike discussions on questions of soldiers' life and service, and other topics.

We cannot pass over in silence the disgraceful incidents which occurred when monuments to Soviet soldiers killed in Lithuania were desecrated in a hooligan fashion in some places. These unseemly actions insulted the dignity of war veterans, their relatives, and all servicemen. Society is also alarmed because such attacks compromise our people's noble traditions. I therefore call on the republic's public to heed the call contained in the address by the leadership of the Baltic Military

District and the leaders of the Baltic republics' communist parties. It contains a call to maintain self-control and continue to strengthen the traditional ties with military subunits.

Today it is also necessary to note that rising crime is casting a shadow over life in the republic. Not only criminal elements but also other unconscientious persons are trying to take advantage of the complex situation. This is why it recently became necessary to take measures to step up the work of militia organs and to toughen certain laws. It is important to ensure that laws are effective and that the public also makes efforts to impose law and order and tranquillity. This is very important.

Esteemed deputies!

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that, when examining the complex political situation, we would be wrong to expect the perestroyka processes to proceed calmly and without contradictions. No matter how complex they might be, we must not forget that there is no alternative to perestroyka, that it is endowed with enormous creative strength and inspires hope.

I think that I speak for the deputies in saying that the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, pursuing the people's aspirations, will continue to consistently work to restore Lithuania's statehood and sovereignty by democratic and legal means, to create the most favorable prerequisites for productive labor by and a better life for its population. We hope that common sense and joint efforts for the benefit of all Lithuania's inhabitants will prevail.

Donetsk Decision To Call Off Strike Detailed

PM0510150189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 p 1

[Own Correspondent V. Kosyak report: "Donetsk: Strike Called Off"]

[Text] Donetsk—By the end of September the situation in the Donbass had noticeably worsened again: A new wave of miners' strikes may be on the point of spreading across the region. The cause? First, the public opinion surrounding the strike committees. At news conferences miners criticized the press for its one-sided analysis of the causes and results of the strikes. In their words, the people are being given the impression that whole trainloads of sausage, soap, and other scarce commodities are being diverted to the Donbass. However, the shelves of the Donetsk stores haven't become more richly laden—if anything, the reverse has happened. It probably suits some people to attribute the supply difficulties to the allegedly inordinate claims of the miners and in so doing call into question the authority of the strike committees as the new organ of self-management.

On the other hand, the atmosphere in the miners' region was inflamed by the lack of information on how the main points of the measures agreed between the strike committees and the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions are being resolved. The miners expected that the fall session of the country's Supreme Soviet session would examine the laws on pensions and vacations. From press reports they drew the conclusion that none of the miners' demands had been included on the session's agenda. And for that reason the RSSKD [Regional Alliance of Donbass Strike Committees] decided to give 10 days' notice of the intention to go on strike.

It was only last Saturday [30 September] at the council of the regional alliance of strike committees that USSR People's Deputy Yu.Ye. Burykh reported that the miners' main demands had been presented for discussion at the session. In this situation the RSSKD decided to call the strike off. The representatives of 34 mining cities voted for this, Donetsk did not. The strike committee and labor collective council of the "Donetskugol" production association left in force their decision to stage a 3-hour warning strike 2 October.

The enlarged session of the strike committee and the miners' labor collective council at the oblast center Sunday was a difficult meeting. The feeling was that a split was imminent between the Donetsk strike committee and the RSSKD, which took a more reasonable stance. A report on the fulfillment of the miners' demands was given by A.P. Fisun, USSR first deputy coal minister. People's Deputy Yu.Ye. Burykh convincingly showed the groundlessness of a strike at this particular moment. Eventually the scales tipped toward wisdom and restraint. Eleven people voted for a strike, 25 voted against. In the evening a delegation from the strike committee and the labor collective council went on local television and announced that the strike had been called off. On Monday morning calm reigned on the square in front of the party oblast committee and the oblast executive committee. Will it be for long?

Tiraspol Officials Cited on Strike

PM0510103189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 p 8

["Our special correspondent" N. Dubin report: "Tiraspol: Fall of Our Concern"]

[Excerpt] At first glance Tiraspol is living its ordinary life. Lively streets, brisk trade, and, a sure sign that it is Saturday—Volga automobiles decorated with wedding ribbons... But that is at first glance. A man appears on the steps of the city soviet building carrying a pile of fresh copies of BASTUYUSHCHIY TIRASPOL—the newspaper is bought up instantly. The people are well inclined but quite restrained and even seemingly a little on their guard. At any rate, before officially talking people everywhere—at the enterprises on strike and at the working enterprises—asked to see my journalist's identification. In Tiraspol today the situation is as follows: All enterprises are on strike except for a number of motor transport enterprises, the construction trust,

which is doing work in preparation for winter, and those people who ensure the city's vital activity, who are connected with the processing of food that spoils rapidly, or who work where there is an uninterrupted production process.

What worries the people of Tiraspol could have been related second hand but we decided to let them do it themselves, especially as the authenticity of information is one of the "painful spots" in the city's social mood. And so, a few interviews.

V. Kudryavtsev, chairman of the Tiraspol City Soviet Executive Committee:

The situation in the city is complex. The economic loss from the strike is such that we are losing R3 million a day. For a month now the members of the striking collectives have received no wages. Nonetheless at the citywide meeting on Saturday distrust was voiced in the united republican strike committee which had suggested that the workers collectives examine the question of temporarily suspending the strike. What is happening now in people's minds and hearts has a precise name—crisis of faith. Faith in the republic's government, in the mass media which initially blocked the events taking place in the city and, when they did start to describe them, often did so unreliably.

Order is being maintained in the city. Liquor is not on sale, crime is decreasing. The workers of the striking enterprises are at their places all day. The nonworking plant is living and "breathing," all systems of its "organism" must be maintained. Preventive work on equipment and preparation for the winter are being carried out here. We are sending workers to the vegetable bases and every day 10,000 striking Tiraspol workers are taking part in the harvest on the fields of nearby farms and are doing this conscientiously. There are no complaints about them.

V. Rylyakov, secretary of the "Elektromash" plant party committee and cochairman of the united republican strike committee:

There is no fundamental change in people's mood. The Tiraspol workers—the recent Saturday meeting showed this—are inclined to continue the strikes since not one of the demands they have put forward has been met. That the strikes in Tiraspol are not the result of a "directors' plot," as people are trying to persuade the republic's inhabitants, is borne out by a perfectly obvious fact: Today the strike committee is making considerable efforts to stabilize the situation. Had the workers' actions been planned in advance and not spontaneous, would these difficulties have arisen? And what, ultimately, do the directors have to do with it, if some of them have already developed conflict relations with their collectives, where appeals are being heard to continue the strike to the end?

We realize that this is leading people to extreme leftwing positions from which there is essentially no way out and we are sure that these moods can and must be overcome by debating in a reasoned manner, by trying to change their minds, by citing arguments in defense of a sensible mutually acceptable compromise. But we also realize that all these processes, which by no means promote consolidation and economic stability, have been caused by the political shortsightedness of the leadership which is ignoring the interests of the republic's working class.

The question of autonomy was raised at the recent city session. The workers treat these projects critically: We do not need separate principalities, we need a strong, united state, and for this state to exist real advances are needed on questions of nationalities policy from the CPSU Central Committee and the country's Supreme Soviet. The Tiraspol people are also awaiting these changes.

We are being rebuked for allegedly going on strike against a language. But we have nothing against the Moldavian language! And it undoubtedly needs the status of a state. Back in March and April groups for the study of the Moldavian language were organized at all enterprises. But why do the laws take no account of the language situation which took shape long ago in our city and other cities and rayons of Moldavia? Why are nationalist sentiments strengthening in the republic? Where is all this taking us?

The strike committee is not an administrative organ. It cannot issue an order to end the strikes. A human sea has become agitated and it is not that simple to subdue this agitation, especially in a situation in which passions seem to be being specially kindled. That does not help the truth nor honesty in mutual relations, nor mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

Moscow Workers Air Grievances at Rally

PM05 10122989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by M. Berger and I. Demchenko: "Seeking the Culprit? Meeting of Labor Collectives Organized by Moscow City Trade Unions Council Held in Moscow in Support of Sixth AUCCTU Plenum Statements"]

[Text] It will be interesting to see whether L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will be held accountable to the trade union for insufficient zeal in fulfilling the demands of the sixth All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] plenum, as some speakers urged. In general it could be called a unique situation: When in the past have the decisions of trade union plenums or even congresses become the pretext for meetings of many thousands?

The meeting proceeded stormily. That was understandable: Dissatisfaction with the rise in prices, inflation, and constant shortages is growing, and the reforms which are being carried out have not yet had the effect of improving the quality of life. But who is to blame, and what is to be done? Our eternal questions.

Many speakers found answers to them with enviable ease: The cooperatives, which are robbing the people, the government, which is unable to stop the rise in prices, the mafia, which is creating an artificial shortage.... And it is therefore necessary to close the cooperatives, if not all cooperatives then the trading and purchasing and public catering cooperatives and those which sell food at other than state rates. The Supreme Soviet and the government are trying at present to assess the situation in a balanced way and to take a considered decision of which it would not be ashamed later on. But is it possible to take such a decision when people are chanting "strike, strike!"

The money reform is being offered as a means which will cure all ills immediately. Demands have been heard that money to the sum of not more than R10,000 be exchanged and that remaining savings be regarded as unearned income. And it does not matter where you have earned them—in the north or in a mine—there should be one limit for all. Here, incidentally, a representative of the "Goznak" factory asserted that his collective is not letting us down: It is printing the new money on time and in the necessary quantity.

But surely the new money will not of itself give us more goods or increase the number of apartments, hospitals, and schools? Surely inflation does not depend on the face value of bank notes? Surely the store shelves and all of us will not become richer if we closer the cooperatives? And what a strange belief there is in the artificial nature of the shortage, the belief that you only have to open a few storehouses and everything will be there.

Of course, some goods, as in previous years, are being hoarded, and some people are profiting from this. There is just one definition for this—crime. But in general all the country's stores are incapable of "hoarding" millions of tonnes of meat, tens of millions of tonnes of grain, hundreds of thousands of automobiles, and much else for the simple reason that it is not in their nature. And there are still too few cooperative members to be able to buy up, as some people suspect, the goods which fall from the shelves. Values must be created. But one speaker only had to draw attention to this point and call for an increase in production discipline and labor efficiency for him to be driven from the rostrum with shouting and whistling.

Yes, our money is weak and bad. But by no means because some people have big savings. The money is as the economy is. And it has gotten that way not through someone's evil design but as a result of a perfectly specific economic policy, a policy pursued for decades, a policy in which there was no place for man and his needs and interests.

Of course, it is better when prices do not rise but fall, when the store shelves are collapsing under the weight of goods and people do not stand in line to get into the store. But a good, prosperous life cannot be introduced by decree, it cannot be received in reward for a selfless quest for the extremist and the guilty. A good life worthy of a civilized society is the result of persistent, sensibly organized labor and just as sensible distribution according to labor.

Today it is no problem to get people to a meeting, especially when trade union functionaries get to work, sending out telephone telegrams instructing: "Detail so many people to attend the meeting" (the IZVESTIYA combine also received such a telegram). Here the question merely arises: Are the trade unions, which for decades assiduously and passionately served the administrative system, really becoming different, or is this merely a subtle understanding of the situation?

The high-quality so to speak "factory-produced" slogans at the meeting included many fair, contentious, or simply strange appeals. But it is not a question of slogans but of blatant attempts by a section of the trade union apparatus to regain the masses' trust by playing on certain feelings on the square.

Further on Rally

PM0910141589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[A. Gamov article: "Workers Take the Floor. Notes From Rally at Luzhniki Stadium"]

[Text] A gloomy Tuesday, you would think, was not the kind of a day to hold a rally: Chilly drizzle was falling in the street and the first frosts had already been felt. But the political barometer reacted in its own way to the atmospheric phenomena. There was nothing surprising in the fact that on this unpleasant evening representatives of labor collectives from the capital as well as from Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Yaroslavl, Nizhnyy Tagil, and Altay Kray gathered for the first time at the Luzhniki stadium to express their unanimous opinion on the difficult "cyclones" currently influencing the weather in society.

Unlike the other heated demonstrations at Luzhniki which we have seen this summer, this authorized October rally was not widely publicized or stage-managed. It came about spontaneously—perhaps that is also why it was held on a not very convenient ordinary workday. But this tumultuous mass meeting involving several tens of thousands of representatives from virtually all the sectors of the national economy concentrated in Moscow was prompted by the workers' rallies in support of the decisions of the Sixth All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Plenum which have been held at many of the capital's enterprises.

The mood of the majority of the participants was perhaps most accurately characterized by V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council, who addressed the rally:

"We have gathered here to express support for the ideas of perestroyka and the processes of democratization, glasnost, and the renewal of the country's entire life. But

we are obliged to note that certain forces are trying to distort those ideas, are openly putting forward proposals of an antisocialist nature, and are seeking to plunge the country into the abyss of new difficulties. Perestroyka is primarily the cause of the working people themselves. Its success is decided at plants and factories, in scientific institutions, and in each labor collective...."

V. Severin, a worker at the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant, N. Fedosov, leader of a team of tunnelers at the Moscow Subway Construction Main Administration, I. Malyarov, a lecturer at the Moscow State University, and many others who addressed the rally said that few people today can be satisfied with the pace and progress of renewal or the slow and halfhearted character of the measures aimed at improving the economy. The talk about creating a law-based state is accompanied by a reduction in labor collectives' rights, an increase in crime, and the stratification of society.

There is also alarm at the fact that honest toil sometimes ceases to be the criterion of people's well-being. But the imbalance between money circulation and the consumer market, the endless waiting lines for the most essential items—all this hits ordinary workers and their families hard.

In this context I should like to cite the speech by A. Sergeyev, lecturer at the Trade Union Movement Higher School:

"Nowadays you read and hear statements which go roughly like this: The Soviet people have so much money that no matter how many goods you supply to the market, it still won't be enough... This claim needs to be examined. It is common knowledge that seven citizens out of every eight do not even have a savings bank account. Many of those who do have accounts have the most marginal of holdings in them: They merely receive their wages and pensions through the savings bank. At the same time there are R314 billion in savings bank accounts. Some 80 percent of savings belong to just 3 percent of the population. In the country now there are at least 100,000 millionaires with a total capital of many billions. Aren't they the people who are thirsting for power now? I think that in these conditions the best method would be a monetary reform. However, they warn us that this could hit working people. Rubbish! Let each passport holder exchange up to R10,000. Let those who have more than that prove that it is earned income. Can we really allow the slogan of the law-based state to be a cover for the power of ill-gotten gains?...."

Many speakers also said that they came to the rally to support Soviet trade unions' activity against the raising of prices, the shortage of goods, the lowering of Soviet people's living standard, and distortions in the cooperative movement. In particular, it was noted that the government is proceeding too slowly in implementing measures aimed at "freezing" prices for basic foodstuffs and industrial goods. There is no effective state monitoring of prices for goods and services provided by state and cooperative enterprises.

The participants in the rally spoke with alarm about the fact that the shoddy practice of leasing individual sections, shops, and production units of state enterprises, cafes, canteens, and stores to cooperatives on considerably more advantageous terms has spread recently. Such cooperatives, which often involve enterprise leaders and members of their families in their activity, make excessive incomes.

The resolution adopted by the rally participants said bluntly:

"We understand very well that perestroyka does not mean a redistribution of benefits but means first and foremost selfless labor by workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia and the strengthening of discipline and organization. But we want social justice to ensure that the main principle of socialism, 'to each according to his labor,' is not forgotten. It is intolerable that the responsibility for the crisis in the country should be heaped on the shoulders of working people alone, that the black economy should flourish at the same time, that dirty money should be laundered openly, and that legal millionaires should come into being...."

...The beam of the spotlight picked out a number of garish placards in the darkness. "All power to the Soviets of working people!", "Elections based on production okrugs!", and "Elect workers' deputies to the Soviets!" Yes, this is yet another question to which the assembly expressed its clear attitude. The theme of the forthcoming elections was raised to one extent or another by virtually all of the three dozen speakers. People spoke about the most painful issues.

"At the last election our collective nominated me as candidate USSR People's Deputy," N. Fedosov, leader of a team of tunnelers at the Moscow Subway Construction Main Administration, said. "But nothing came of it. At the okrug pre-election meeting there were 12 of us candidates, 2 of whom were workers. But they immediately pushed us into the background. My comrades and I believe that it would be fair to hold elections based on the production-territorial principle. Then collectives would nominate to the Soviets people whom they know well and whom they see as real defenders of their interests."

The opinion of the ordinary voters was supported by the majority of the USSR People's Deputies attending the rally.

"I believe that the only way to involve the working man in the administration of the state is to hold elections in okrugs based on the production unit," Deputy Ye. Kogan noted in his speech. "This question acquires special relevance in the national republics, for example, in our Estonia, where, after the introduction of the

'residential qualification,' tens of thousands of people were deprived of the right not only to be elected but to even to vote."

The rally participants voted for a resolution containing the following words: "It is intolerable that the working class and labor intelligentsia are in the minority in the Soviets. It is necessary to overcome the soviets' alienation from labor collectives and the divergence between word and deed. It is necessary to obey Lenin's tenet that under Soviet power the primary electoral unit and basic cell of state building is not the territorial okrug but the economic production unit (the plant or factory).

"We support the proposals of the AUCCTU and the meetings of working people in Leningrad and Moscow on the inclusion in the Law on Local Soviet Elections of provisions on elections not only in territorial okrugs but also in production okrugs. We support the slogan 'All power to soviets of working people!'"

The debates at the Luzhniki stadium lasted around 3 hours. They had everything: Seething passions which sometimes spilled over, attempts to silence some speakers, and demagogic calls. Of course, many of the workers and trade union leaders who took the platform that evening were somewhat inferior in eloquence to the professional orators from informal organizations who are to be heard quite a lot at the Luzhniki stadium. But when it comes to the main thing—the constructiveness of their approaches to the solution of the most acute problems facing society today—the speakers from the shop floor who had hitherto remained silent were much superior to those who have unjustifiably arrogated to themselves the right to defend the interests of the people and whose words quite often vary from their deeds. Worker Moscow is loudly proclaiming its existence.

KGB Forms Special Force To Fight Organized Crime

LD1010223689 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The KGB Chief for Moscow and the Moscow Region, Major General (Vitaliy Prelukov) has announced that his department has formed a special mobile force to fight organized crime. Asked about the main tasks of the State Security Committee General (Prelukov) mentioned counterintelligence, the prevention, detection and frustration of operations by foreign secret services against the USSR.

Ligachev Attends Session on Eliminating Losses

LD0910190489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy has taken place. Under the chairmanship of Comrade Ligachev it examined the organizational work of heads of ministries and departments, party, local soviet and economic bodies, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, food and other enterprises, in eliminating losses of agricultural produce in the process of its production, transportation, storage, and processing. Measures were also discussed for increasing output of small-scale equipment for lessees of family and peasant farms.

More on Baklanov Visit to Leningrad Enterprise

PM0510143089 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 p 1

[LENTASS report: "O.D. Baklanov's Visit to Leningrad"]

[Excerpts] An indispensable condition of the social reorientation of the economy, being implemented on the party's initiative, is a significant increase in the manufacture of consumer goods—one of the key tasks of perestroyka of the national economy. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was visiting the city on the Neva on 28 September, found out about the way that the V.I. Lenin Leningrad Optical and Mechanical Association is dealing with these problems.

In conversations with leaders of the enterprise, workers, and specialists, ways of quickly building up output of everything that the people need were discussed in detail. It was noted that the Leningrad Optical and Mechanical Association is capable of making an even greater contribution to this important matter. The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed the necessity, in the consumer's interests, for closer contacts between production and trade.

Questions of the development of the social sphere had an important place in the discussions. Employees of the enterprise told O.D. Baklanov in detail about the problems that are worrying the labor collective. One of them is the housing problem.

Analyzing the rates of construction, the CPSU Central Committee secretary paid particular attention to the necessity of developing an economical method for the construction of housing as soon as possible.

Questions of improving the supply of provisions to the Leningrad inhabitants were broached. It was noted that one vital reserve is the large-scale development of agricultural enterprises on an industrial basis. [passage omitted]

In the evening, the CPSU Central Committee secretary had a meeting at the Smolnyy with leading specialists from Leningrad defense complex ministry enterprises. The meeting focused on questions concerning the utilization in the people's vital interests of defense enterprise capacities being released as a result of the reduction in military production.

The problems resulting from so-called conversion are not at all easy or simple. The enterprise collectives are

faced with enormous tasks in redesigning and recquipping production premises, retraining cadres, and reordering their workload, their earnings, and their psychological orientation. An interested, comradely discussion was held on all these subjects that was at times sharp but was always constructive. It touched on many questions which determine the course of perestroyka.

One of the central questions for modern defense production units is their flexibility and ability to switch over quickly to new production output.

The elaboration of a national program for the conversion of the defense complex is being concluded. It takes into consideration the whole spectrum of these complex questions, but every enterprise also needs to seek ways of solving them.

The capacities that are being released should be linked more vigorously to such spheres as the agricultural complex, public catering, and the services sphere. The party is counting on this, and the people are expecting it of the defense workers.

There is an economic side to this matter, which cannot be avoided. The new conditions of management and emergence onto the market require new economic standards.

Participating in the discussion of the questions examined were B.M. Belousov and O.N. Shishkin, USSR ministers; N.M. Luzhin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Defense Department; and officials from central economic departments, a number of ministries, and the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee and City Committee.

Accompanying O.D. Baklanov was B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom.

Makhkamov Addresses 20 Sep CPSU Plenum

LD0710223189 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKSTANA in Russian 24 Sep 89

[Speech by K.M. Makhkamov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy at the plenum CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 20 September 1989]

[Excerpts] An open and constructive discussion about the internationalities relations in our country and about the ways of resolving the problems which have accumulated in this sphere has been going on for several months. However, this discussion became especially concrete and to the point after the publication of the draft of the CPSU platform on its nationalities policy in the present conditions.

All aspects of this fundamental document have been discussed actively and with interest in our republic as well, for the problems resulting from the failure to resolve this or that side of the nationalities question, which have been emerging with acute forces lately in various regions of the country, exist to this or that degree in our republic—they are engendered by the economic and social situation in the republic.

Everybody knows that Tajikistan, as in other Central Asian republics, the rate of growth of labor resources who cannot find employment in the sphere of social production, is very high. There are over 200,000 such people already. In this connection the question was addressed to the country's planning bodies more than once about the setting up in the republic of cotton-processing and light industry enterprises, and other labor-intensive enterprises. However, as a rule this has not been supported by the Union bodies. The same fate befell the decision about the construction of a number of spinning and weaving enterprises envisated by the "Principal Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR" both in previous 5-year plan periods and in those which were adopted at the 27th Party Congress for the 1986-1990 period, and the period up to the year 2000. Up to now, 90 percent of the cotton produced is taken out of the republic. Apart from this, the people producing cotton, doing hard and exhausting work, get a miserable, by present standards, remuneration for it. The revision of rates has been delayed for too long. [passage omitted]

As to the results of the national-territorial division and the definition of frontiers connected with this (because 93 percent of the republic's territory consists of mountains, and the area of the cultivated land per capita amounts to 0.11 ha), it is necessary to say that the center for some reasons has been dodging lately the examanation of them, shifting the problem of resolving the frictions that have emerged onto the local authorities. It occurs to me that in many cases the resolution of these problems without the participation of the central organs, including the Congress of People's Deputies of the country as well, is simply impossible.

Here is another example. It would appear logical that in the passport of each citizen, his real nationality should be indicated.

At a certain time, part of the Tajiks living in Uzbekistan were registered in their passports as Uzbeks. In the last few years there have been numerous appeals from these people about the restoration in their passports of their real nationality. We have no possibility to meet their requirements, as this constitutes an exclusive prerogative of the central organs. We have raised this issue more than once, and nevertheless the work on resolving it has not yet begun. [passage omitted]

In the course of preparations for the present plenum, numerous meetings of working people and party members took place in Tajikistan. One of the issues often raised at these meetings was related to the representation of nationalities and lesser nationalities in higher echelons of the party, state, and economic management. This issue was also discussed at the 19th party conference.

And what has changed during the past year? In our opinion, there is no noticeable progress in this respect.

For instance, Tajikistan is, in fact, hardly represented, or represented poorly, in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, or in the central Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, or in delegations visiting foreign countries, or in the Union law enforcement organs, etc. So, what do we have here? We talk about the equality of nationalities and lesser nationalities, about the fact that we live in a single common home, but we do not always take part in the management of this home.

All this working people regard as a lack of attention towards the republic's cadres, and this leads sometimes to the fact that many decisions originating from the center are received with mistrust. [passage omitted]

New Department in Council of Ministers

LD0510131489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] A new department has been set up in the USSR Council of Ministers for culture and national education. Its chief task is to ensure that government organizations pay more attention to issues of culture and enhancing the spiritual potential of society.

Karaganda Obkom First Secretary Replaced

PM0910143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Party Oblast Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Karaganda, 6 Oct—The Karaganda Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee [Obkom] held a plenum here today to examine an organizational question.

The plenum released V.I. Lokotunin from his duties as obkom first secretary in connection with his transfer to other work.

Ye.F. Bashmakov, who had been first deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, was elected party obkom first secretary.

The plenum was addressed by N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

Samarkand Obkom First Secretary Replaced

LD0710222989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] A plenum of the Samarkand party oblast committee [obkom] has been held. It discussed the tasks of the party organizations in radically improving the sociopolitical situation in the oblast. An organizational matter was examined. The plenum released Ikramov from his duties as first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his transfer to other work. Abdurakhmanov, formerly a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, was elected first secretary of Samarkand party obkom. The plenum was addressed by Karimov, first secretary of the Central Committee of Uzbekistan.

Tomsk Oblispolkom Elects New Chairman

LD0510132189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] A session of the Tomsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has ended. An account was heard of the work by the executive committee on solving urgent social problems, on deepening economic reform, the development of glasnost, and the democratization of social life. The deputies noted that the work of the executive committee does not fully meet the demands of the 27th party congress and the first congress of USSR People's Deputies. Thus, for instance, since the beginning of the year some 70 industrial enterprises of the oblast have not been fulfilling contractural agreements on deliveries to the national economy, and R30 million worth of products have not been yielded. The plan for the commissioning of housing and children's preschool institutions has not been fulfilled either.

As before, the population's demand for meat products is not being satisfied. The deputies outlined a specific program for solving the tasks of the oblast's social and economic development.

In connection with the retirement on a pension of omrade Vystotskiy, chairman of the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, elections were held for his successer. Twenty one candidacies were proposed for this post. Then, five candidates were left for discussion. They all met with the electorate and appeared on television and radio. Their programs were published in the oblast newspaper. By an absolute majority of votes, comrade papedekin was elected chairman of the Tomsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

Lukyanov Presents Awards to Workers

LD0710044389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, today in the Kremlin presented USSR awards to a group of comrades. [passage omitted] On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium and the Soviet Government, Comrade Lukyanov cordially congratulated the recipients and wished them new labor successes.

Jews, Christians, Communists Remember Babiy Yar

PM0510135789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent S. Tsikora: "Requiem at Babiy Yar"]

[Text] On 29 September a requiem was held at Babiy Yar, Kiev, that sorrowful site of eternal grief. Thousands of people came here to honor the memory of the victims of fascism. On that day 48 years ago the Hitlerites opened their first mass extermination camp near Kiev, on the outskirts of the city.

Several hundred thousand people suffered an agonizing death here. Jews and Ukrainians, Russians and Poles, and people of other nationalities. Babiy Yar became the world's greatest communal grave, the site of the largest mass shootings of World War II.

The work of more than 30 painters and graphic artists is on display at an exhibition organized by Kiev artists and the "Babiy Yar" public historical education center. The works of three artists—Z. Tolkachev, V. Ovchinnikov, and G. Malakov—created in 1946, when the Kiev tragedy was still fresh in the mind, were a real discovery for visitors. Alas, these works had lain in the artists' studios for more than 40 years.

As far as the city rally was concerned, its most impressive feature was two requiems. One, held in front of a crowd of many thousands tightly packed around the 16-meter monument erected at Babiy Yar, was officiated at by rabbi Isaak Fuks of the Kiev Synagogue. The other was led by a representative of the Orthodox Church, Bishop Ionafan of Pereyaslav-Khmelnitskiy, vicar of the Kiev Eparchy.

When the service was over the foot of the monument was literally swamped with flowers brought there by people responding to the prompting of heart and memory. Hundreds of candles were lit along the central and adjoining avenues of the public garden where the monument stands. Representatives of city party and soviet organs, Jewish public organizations, and "Rukh" activists took part in the rally.

Shevardnadze, Others Sign Diplomat's Obituary

PM0210133389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Obituary of Lev Isaakovich Mendelevich]

[Excerpts] Lev Isaakovich Mendelevich, eminent Soviet diplomat, CPSU member since 1945, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, chief of the Evaluation and Planning Administration, and USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, died 23 September after a long illness. Life has lost a Communist who dedicated himself to selfless service of the motherland and the cause of peace and international cooperation. [Passage omitted]

He entered the diplomatic service in 1952. He held leading posts in the central apparatus of the USSR Foreign Ministry and abroad. He was USSR deputy permanent representative at the United Nations, USSR Foreign Ministry special envoy, and USSR ambassador to Denmark. From 1986 L.I. Mendelevich headed the Evaluation and Planning Administration. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] E.A. Shevardnadze, A.M. Yakovlev, Ye.M. Primakov, A.A. Bessmertnykh, Yu.M. Vorontsov, A.G. Kovalev, I.P. Aboimov, A.L. Adamishin, L.F. Ilichev, V.P. Karpov, V.G. Komplektov, V.M. Nikiforov, V.F. Petrovskiy, I.A. Rogachev, B.N. Chaplin, A.P. Bondarenko, V.M. Vasev, V.M. Vinogradov, G.I. Gerasimov, G.N. Gorinovich, R.S. Ovinnikov, R.I. Otunbayeva, O.G. Peresypkin, V.P. Polyakov, B.D. Pyadyshev, S.P. Tarasenko, V.P. Terekhov, V.I. Chernyshev, V.V. Shustov, V.I. Dolgov.

Economic

Ryzhkov Addresses Forum on Economic Crime 6 Oct

PM0810163489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on 6 October Kremlin conference: "Stepping Up the Struggle Against Lawbreaking in the Economic Sphere"]

[Text] In the conditions of perestroyka and the difficulties the country is experiencing, justified indignation is caused among citizens by the numerous instances of lawbreaking and crime in the economic sphere, which do serious material, moral, and political damage to society. The situation demands the adoption of effective measures of a legislative, monitoring, and organizational nature in order to achieve a breakthrough in eliminating the factors and conditions giving rise to lawbreaking and crime in the economic sphere.

That is how N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, put it at a conference of leaders of a number of ministries and departments held in the Kremlin on 6 October. As was noted at the conference, particular concern is caused by such intolerable phenomena as the growth of unearned income, speculation, embezzlement, the concealment of shortage goods in the trade system, and numerous instances of lawbreaking in the sphere of cooperative activity, as well as unlawful actions in the sphere of foreign economic ties, which are in conflict with the country's economic interests.

Attention was drawn to the fact that such processes intensify property differences among the population and have become dangerous destabilizing factors in the social and economic sphere. Various kinds of wheeler-dealers and shrewd operators have become active on the market for consumer goods and services, unlawfully exploiting the opportunities created by economic reform to show initiative. Cases of their setting up cooperatives in order to legalize unearned income are not uncommon.

One of the most crime-ridden sectors of the national economy is trade. In the first half of 1989 violations of the system laid down for the sale of shortage goods were discovered at one-third of the 154,000 state trade and

public catering enterprises that were checked. The situation is bad as regards the protection of socialist property in the agro-industrial sector. This sector accounts for nearly one in three crimes in the economic sphere. Many violations are also recorded in other sectors of the national economy.

Alongside the useful results of cooperation, what is alarming is the growing number of mercenary crimes and other infringements of the law in this sector of the economy. This causes justified dissatisfaction among working people and distrust in the cooperative movement in general. Among the serious violations that distort the principles of socialist economic management is the acquisition by cooperatives of raw materials and equipment that are in very short supply, by unlawful means. A significant proportion of the output at public catering cooperatives comes from raw materials purchased in the retail trade network, rather than from the population. Instances of concealment of income are not uncommon. Often income is far from in accordance with the labor invested. Violations of the laws are promoted by the lack of proper monitoring of the activity of cooperatives by financial and other economic organs.

Among the factors giving rise to the conditions for the widespread lawbreaking in the economic sphere, mention was made of the imperfect economic mechanism, as well as the imperfect legal system, which makes it possible to bypass the laws or take advantage of the absence of laws.

At the conference, the state of affairs in organizing the struggle against economic lawbreaking and crimes was judged unsatisfactory. It was stressed that law enforcement bodies and other competent state organs are not coping with their tasks in protecting socialist property and the collective and personal interests of citizens. Economic methods of combating lawbreaking have not been perfected, and financial control is not fulfilling its functions; the penalties stipulated in existing legal acts are in many cases not commensurate with the damage done to consumers and society. A tendency toward laxity with regard to responsibility for one's actions persists in the struggle against negative phenomena in practice.

With a view to improving the situation, it is deemed necessary systematically to examine, at the USSR Council of Ministers, concrete problems and proposals on measures for stepping up the struggle against lawbreaking in the economic sphere, and to organize effective monitoring of their implementation. It is planned, in particular, to accelerate the formulation of measures to improve the economic mechanism and to commence the preparation of normative acts governing economic activity in present-day conditions with a view to creating an effective legal base for the struggle against speculation, unearned income, embezzlement, and other unlawful actions. This should make it possible substantially to strengthen the socialist rule of law and order in the economic sphere and to increase the effectiveness of all means of influencing antisocial elements. These measures will be implemented in conditions of glasnost, in close collaboration with labor collectives and the broad public.

Taking part in the conference were V.A. Kryuchkov, A.P. Biryukova, and V.K. Pugo; G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor; M.S. Shkabardnya, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs; USSR ministers V.V. Bakatin, V.S. Pavlov, K.Z. Terekh, and V.F. Yakovlev; and leaders of a number of economic departments.

Inflation Fears Fuel Panic Buying of Jewelry

PM0610151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[M. Krushinskiy report: "Flight From Money. Why Lines Are Forming at Jewelry Stores"]

[Text] This is perhaps the most alarming of all lines. People are standing outside a jewelry store in the hope of buying something in gold. Or, let us assume, diamonds. Most of them do not care what they buy: Provided it is a little larger and more costly. It is not a passion for adornment that has brought these people here, but a desire to rid themselves of their savings as quickly as possible in return for any valuable commodity not subject to inflation. In economists' language, which is not generally very expressive, this phenomenon is described colorfully as "flight from money."

"Of course, if I had the opportunity, I would prefer a video recorder or good furniture. But you can't buy them! The situation is deteriorating...."

That is how Olga Petrovna Galkina, an architect by profession, explained her presence in the line. Her neighbors in the line supported her. Everyone was indignant at the empty shelves and said that money must be invested in something before it becomes "worthless paper money." The invigorating fall air and the sunny Moscow morning were not well in keeping with the sense of the dread financial clouds massing overhead.

When did this begin? According to Tatyana Konstantinovna Ivanova, deputy director of the Rosyuvelirtorg Central Retail Enterprise, the demand for jewelry rose appreciably last July. By January it had stabilized and maintained a comparatively high but nonetheless tolerable level until this August. Suddenly, the dam burst. As usually happens in such cases, rumors of an alleged impending increase in the price of gold triggered the explosion. "Lines grew drastically outside jewelry stores and they have reached their highest point today. Some people wait overnight in order to reach the entrance in the morning."

So why not let them, perhaps? What danger does all this hold for most of us, who are not burdened with "excess"

funds? Alas, the "flight from money," if it is not stopped, may snowball, disorganizing the economy, emptying by no means only the jewelry stores. For a growing number of customers the main motive behind these purchases is not a real need for some item but a desire to rid themselves of banknotes that have lost confidence and "exchange them for goods" by any means. Inflation is being given an additional boost, like an automobile when changing gear.

What is to be done? How can this be countered? Broadly speaking, the solution is easy: Increase production of consumer goods (video equipment and furniture) and also expand the range, selling goods for ready cash that were not previously sold to individual citizens—for instance, housing, tractors, and minibuses. Another option is to tie up monetary income, by issuing (on a strictly voluntary basis) state loan bonds or involving labor collectives (and once again individual citizens) in joint-stock activity. These and other emergency financial recovery measures are under discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, there is no need to repeat ourselves. But maybe the "economic first aid kit" has some special remedy for "gold fever?" Capable, if not of curing it, at least of channeling it in a more organized direction?

There is the idea voiced by one economist who is now on a long assignment abroad: I will not attempt to "blow his cover," since I do not have the authority, but I will talk about the idea itself briefly. Its essence is to bring into play in the present—quite extreme—circumstances the mighty reserve of the state gold stock. The idea is to set some of it aside and use it to guarantee the issue of a "gold certificate" subject to exchange for the precious metal on demand. The author's idea is to thus use hard foreign currency to import, say, consumer goods. But maybe it is worth going further? And circulate certificates not only on the foreign, but also on the internal market?

Then the people shown in the photograph [photograph accompanying article shows very long line of people waiting outside store entrance] would have no need to hang around jewelry stores. For it is much more convenient to keep a certificate at home than goods made out of "real" gold. For greater security this certificate could be payable to a named person, like a letter of credit. How the sales problem would be alleviated!

"People would not buy them," O. Galkina reckons. "People have already lost confidence, they only need goods 'in kind'!...."

In my opinion, that is too gloomy. Confidence will rapidly grow stronger if exchange of the certificates for gold is not impeded. T. Ivanova (deputy director of the trading establishment) agrees with that:

"I believe that people will buy them. Especially if they are made a means of payment in special stores like the former hard-currency stores...."

Let us recall the gold chervonets, which rapidly got the economy on its feet during the period of the New Economic Policy, although inflation and commodity famine were incomparably more acute than they are now. However, the certificate at issue here is not designed to be an alternative currency to the ruble but, rather, a support for it, a "crutch" for a period of illness. By helping remove a fair amount of ready cash from circulation, it would act as a good means of recovery. Perhaps it is worth thinking about? For the situation is changing rapidly—it must not be allowed to get out of control.

Last. Lines like that shown on the photograph are not only the cause but also the consequence of social disquiet and many people's loss of confidence in the future. As they become longer they react, incidentally, to the slightest signs of political or economic "ripples," be it the latest deterioration of the situation in the Transcaucasus or the calls for strikes and a different currency at a rally in Luzhniki. Those who, voluntarily or involuntarily, help "rock the boat" of which we are all the crew would do well to remember this.

Agricultural

Deputy Criticizes Agricultural Draft Plan

PM0910100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Journalist and Deputy Yu. Chernichenko by V. Konovalov under the rubric "Deputy's Position": "Plan Which Promises Too Much"]

[Text] [Chernichenko] It is with great concern that I read the figures of the agrarian part of draft plan, for it is a political part, a part relating to social stability in the country and of perestroyka as a whole. The USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the Council of Ministers have suggested increasing grain production 15-16 percent. Given the existing structure of crops and the deadline for the plan's implementation, the calculation can be based only on a corresponding increase in yield. That is an inconceivable, fantastic increase. Such increases do not occur. They have never occurred. Unless, of course, you take as your point of reckoning the years of catastrophic decline—1946 or 1921. Yet the year from which it is planned to make the leap has been on the contrary more than successful. A simply record year in the Ukraine! It is true that the area sown to spring crops suffered.... According to forecasts, the average grain yield will be approximately 18.3 quintals per hectare; the winter wheat yield will be 29.5 quintals, and the corn yield 34.4 quintals.

It must be borne in mind that the grain crop yield is the most complex final figure, it sums up thousands of components for such a gigantic country, sowing about 130 million hectares to the most diverse crops that it changes only very slowly. Suffice it to say that it took 15 years—from 1970 through 1985—for the yield in our

country to increase just 0.6 quintals per hectare. How can you promise a leap from a good level by a whole 16 percent?

[Konovalov] Perhaps this figure should be assessed not as a promise of a leap but as the level which must be reached to resolve the food problem? Are you not persuaded by the justification for the planned growth in yield contained in the draft plan?

[Chernichenko] I should also very much like us to obtain 25 quintals of grain per hectare and not to import grain to the tune of 38 million tonnes, as is the case this year. Yes, I want and desire that passionately! But there is an enormous difference between "want" and "can." If I were persuaded that we would suddenly give agriculture the most select fertilizers and really effective equipment and ensure the growth in yield by that means.... But no. The draft states in black and white that in connection with the lag behind the targets of the 5-year plan, deliveries of mineral fertilizers to agriculture in 1990 will be 3.6 million tonnes less than the 5-year plan level. There will be 10 percent fewer tires for trucks, yet a multitude of vehicles are standing idle already. There is a shortfall of 168,000 units in the satisfaction of demands for freight transport. And here we are supposed to steer people toward a miracle?

[Konovalov] Yet the projected growth in yield also stipulates the movement of other indicators....

[Chernichenko] That's it! THe other proposed successes must stem from this mythical 16 percent increase in grain. In general the grain harvest is a powerful pole on which the entire tent rests. The structure only has to break and there will be a domino effect: Dozens of positions will collapse. For instance, the volume of production of food goods for next year has been set for an increase of nearly 13 percent in retail prices. Yet it is based on the proposed 16 percent increase in grain production. A deficit of only R60 billion in the budget—yet that, too, rests on such calculations.

[Konovalov] But we have been taught to believe that a plan with high figures mobilizes people. It boosts morale, strengthens faith in their strength....

[Chernichenko] "Morale" and "strength"... whose? Those of the people who convey this unfeasible plan to the grassroots. Having "taken aback" the "grassroots" of the collective and state farms with this "quit-rent," the apparatus imposes the need for itself. Hand over forage for deliveries (and, after all, you will hand it over) and then you must come with outstretched hand. The good grain will be taken from you—there are no freemen in the sense of selling grain for currency—and you will become biddable again. You will have no energy left for changes in land ownership, for the lease, and so forth. Just try surviving under the onslaught of bureaucratic optimism! No, I see this over-optimisitic plan as a political action by reptilian forces to freeze society.

The unfeasibility of some important figures in the draft is also caused by other reasons. For instance, it is planned to reach a meat consumption level of 68kg per capita a year. An unsophisticated person would say: Well, so what, that is simply a little more than last year. But what are we to understand by this indicator? In Britain, for instance, the stable meat consumption level is 64 kg a year. In my lifetime I have already "overtaken" the United States and now it seems I have outstripped Britain? But all their meat markets are packed. But in our country there is a very acute shortage—the shelves are empty.

The dispute is one of terminology, as they say: What do we term meat? In our country first-category byproducts, that is udders, tripe, lungs, and so forth—are included as meat. Not to mention long bones, which Western agrarian business long since discounted. We also count second-category byproducts, that is in the direct and not the humorous sense [reference unknown]—horns and hooves. We see cow's hooves and steer's heads on sale in the stores and pig's feet are one of the first things in short supply.

We have recently been coming to display frankness in literally everything. It is time to say honestly that meat, and not of the top category, has been consumed in our country at the rate of 40kg per capita.

I should like our plan to be strict, honest, and feasible. Then the most acute hostilities, the most seething national passions would abate against the background of the improvement of the food situation. It is better to tell the people the truth than to generate unfounded illusions among them.

Statistics Cited in Sugar Beet Harvest Report

18240256 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 29 Sep 89 p 1

[Report by Nikolay Osychkin: "The Sugar Conveyer"]

[Text] An unusually active and—in a number of places—temperature record-setting "Indian summer" has taken lawful rights away from autumn. While the forecasters just promise cooling, genuine October cold spells are not just around the corner. Thus, field work must be hurried, a reliable reserve of foodstuffs laid in for the winter, and a solid feed base created for stock. This is how the agricultural complex is functioning these days!

An overall picture is given by the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] report. By 25 September, the cereal and leguminous crops (excluding corn) had been threshed from 98.2 million hectares; this is 93 percent of the crops sown. As we can see, the harvest is drawing to a close. The grain from 2.5 million hectares remains to be threshed, especially in regions of the Ukraine and Siberia. What must be resolutely accelerated is the work on getting the grain to the elevators, into the state order accounts, and the deliveries exceeding the plan, which are determined by contractual

obligation. By the beginning of September's last 5-day period, the state order had been filled by 61 percent.

Yet our table is not rich by bread alone. The problem of many types of foodstuffs is resolved in the fall. One of the most visible places among them is held by sugar. For a number of reasons, its consumption of late has grown noticeably, and has reached 46 kilograms per person annually. It was necessary to introduce a sugar coupon system in order to organize the sale system. Did the system justify itself in all locations? Opinions differ on this subject. The best of these opinions is free trade, but this requires a serious supplementation of the sweet beet crop reserves. This is being resolved now, in autumn, when in the short period before the cold comes, the beet harvest must be gathered without losses, reliably stored, and processed for the maximum amount of sugar. In a word, the coupons' fate is being resolved in the field, the storage pit, and at the plant.

In the meantime, the statistics testify that sugar beets have been harvested from 1,067 million of the country's hectares, or 32 percent of the crop, with a yield of 227 quintals per hectare. A total of 20.3 million metric tons of the root crop has been purchased, with 26 percent going toward state order. In total, 8.6 million metric tons of root crop has been processed, with a yield of 792,000 metric tons of sugar.

The situation in this foodstuffs branch now has not come about easily in all locations. Chernozem and a number of other regions have been visited with drought. The root crop had just begun to grow in August-September, after the rains. On the contrary, in some areas, the summer precipitation promoted rapid crop growth. In that situation, the nerves of some farm managers and specialists did not hold up, as they say, and they began massive digging. Thus, in Gorkiy Oblast, over 85 percent of the crops have been harvested, with a yield of 140 quintals per hectare, and a sugar content of somewhat over 13 percent. But they were in no hurry in neighboring Mordovian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], using the last hot days to dig up the crop. Here, the root crop harvest is reaching 180-190 quintals, with a sugar content raised to 15-18 percent. The beet growers plan to conduct the harvest within a limited time.

The Orlov lessors who took under their care all the oblast's beet fields took an economical approach to the current beet harvest. They began the harvest significantly later than the usual periods. About a thousand harvest units have been taken into the field. Each is highly productive. This is promoted not only by the good weather, but by the bold utilization of all machines and modes of transportation. The beets were dug up from two-thirds of the area literally in a few days. Before the cold weather comes, no less than a million metric tons of high-quality raw material will be produced here, significantly more than stipulated by the state order. In recent days, the farms of the Altay, Tatar ASSR, Tambov Oblast, and certain other places has successfully developed the harvest and transport of the crop. Throughout the Russian Federation, 44 percent of the beet crop sowings have been dug up.

As previously noted, this index is somewhat lower in the country in general, but this is not bad. The plants made good use of the sunny September to accumulate the harvest. The refinery smokestacks billowed in the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Russian Federation, and Lithuania as they began to give the consumers the sugar of the new harvest. It may be noted as a positive fact that despite the complicated weather conditions, harvest yield and sugar content are now higher than in previous years. For example, the average sugar beet weighed 406 grams. If the sweet raw material, grown with such enormous efforts, can be harvested and stored economically, and processed at the right periods, then the country's sugar production can be raised noticeably.

This is the aim with which the Kursk beet growers work. They dig up 240-245 quintals of sugar beets per hectare. But the warm, dry September put them in a difficult situation: Dig or wait! They decided to dig; after all, the oblast's harvest area exceeds 186,000 hectares. Plants were put to work, and the stream of raw material gushed there. All schedules were broken. For the most part, these low-capacity enterprises from before the revolution were choked by the surplus of raw material. Now, 2.3 million metric tons of sugar beets have accumulated at the receiving points, fields, and storage pits near stations. This quantity will last the sugar refiners for 40 work days. But after all, beets lose weight and sugar content while awaiting processing, and they begin to burn in high storage pits.

In this situation, the farms decided to halt mass digging for 3-5 days. Time will tell if this decision is right or not. In the oblast, there is a valuable experiment under way at the "Zarya Kommunizma" sugar beet kolkhoz [collective farm], headed by I.P. Gruzdov, hero of socialist labor and USSR people's deputy. They dig beets late, but quickly. Nor have they miscalculated; they get 500 quintals per hectare. Beets are now growing over 625 hectares, each one adding 3 quintals per day. In early October, the kolkhoz workers will descend on the harvest en masse, and will gather it in 2 weeks. It is a good experiment, and it will help the farms which are highly equipped, with excellent labor organization. In farms where this process is limping along, the specialist feel that nothing more can be expected of the harvest than digging beetroots by the forced method, storing them well, and processing them without delay.

A confused situation came about in the beet fields of the Kuban, which is now raising a very good harvest. The farms are digging up 328 quintals per hectare. But they continue to grow, and there is the danger that the harvest will drag out until January, as it did last year. After all, for the time being, only slightly over one third of the plantings have been dug up. What is hampering the harvest! The beet-harvesting units worked poorly at the

beginning of the harvest season. It then turned out that there was nothing to fill up their tanks with. The hundreds of motor vehicles which came to transport the beetroot stand useless. Certainly the Kuban residents will not set about harvesting in late fall, allowing crop losses!

Such a concern is raised over many farms of the Ukraine, where the sugar beet digging is also being artificially restrained. Since they are taking such a risk, the kolkhoz and sovkhoz [state farm] managers are called upon to take immediate measures for the careful preparation of equipment and production capacity, the reduction of losses in work time during the days of the mass harvest, and the overfulfillment of daily beetroot harvest and processing schedules. It is now important to do everything necessary so that the period the beets spend in storage is kept to a minimum. If they are in storage for 100 days, their sugar content is cut in half. The task of the day is to get as much as possible per hectare—40, 50, 60 quintals. Competition has begun for this in many farms of the Ukraine, Kursk, Voronezh, and Belgorod Oblasts, and Krasnodarskiy Kray. Such tasks are within the powers of the majority of the country's beet growing collectives and sugar refineries.

Agricultural Figures for 3-9 Oct Reported

LD1010001189

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow domestic service in russian on 3-9 october, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

3 October

To date around 2 million tonnes of strong varieties of grain have been delivered to granaries in Tselinograd Oblast. (0500)

4 October

Sowing of winter grain crops is nearing completion in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. The crops will occupy more than 2.5 million hectares; sowing was completed on the second million hectares today. Land is being prepared for next year's harvest. Autumn ploughing has been carried out on 10 million hectares; fallow land has also been prepared. (1000)

The 500,000th tonne of cotton has been delivered in accordance with the state order in the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. (1100)

In Kherson Oblast, 1,270,000 tonnes of grain have been harvested to date; 763,000 tonnes of strong and valuable varities of wheat have been sold to the state. (1400)

5-7 October

No fileworthy items monitored.

8 October

The cotton harvest has passed the 2 million tonne mark in Uzbekistan. Although this high figure has been achieved through the use of efficient cotton-picking machinery, there are still about 1 million people doing the work manually in the republic. The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Government has significantly raised the wages of cotton-harvesting workers. (0600)

9 October

The collective farms and state farms of Bryansk Oblast have fulfilled their plan targets for sales of sugar beet to the state almost a month ahead of schedule. Over 130,000 tonnes of sugar beet has been set for processing. Bryansk Oblast farmers plan to sell another 60,000 tonnes of sugar beet to the state. (0204)

Scientific

Problems Delay Launch of Space Module

Flight Program Changed

LD1010145789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1404 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct—TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Romanov reports from the flight control center:

"Substantial changes have occurred in the flight program for the fifth basis expedition on the Mir-Kvant orbital station. In particular, the second Module D, which is destined for Mir, was supposed to be put into space in the middle of September. However, its launch is being delayed by approximately 40 days." That was what USSR Pilot Cosmonaut Vladimir Solovyev, flight controller of the manned orbital complex, told journalists today.

Explaining why the launch was delayed, Solovyev reported that certain elements of the Kurs system, which guarantees that the Module D is put into a given orbit and that it approaches the Mir station, proved to be unreliable during ground tests. Although the Kurs system has proved itself to be perfectly satisfactory in previous flights, the council of chief designers decided to delay the launch until 28 November, in view of the special scientific importance of Module D.

During that time, the flight controller announced, module designers, specialists, and also related organizations will work jointly on carrying out additional ground tests and, if necessary, will renew the Kurs system to a significant degree.

Vladimir Solovyev also noted that the delay of the launch of Module D will not change the basic tasks of the crew, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov. In addition to scientific experiments there are also to be five walks in open space, and the first "motorcycle" for traveling short distances between installations in space will be tested. Academician Sergey Korolev, the chief

designer of the first space rocket system, dreamed of this piece of space apparatus in his day.

When asked by journalists if the sun flare of 29 September affected the crew of the Mir-Kvant complex, specialists replied that analysis of all the data performed by various institutes indicates that the sun flare had not given rise to any changes in the station's bioclimate and had no unpleasant effect on the crew. Cosmonauts Viktorenko and Serebrov are working normally and carrying out the flight program precisely.

Minimal Effect on Cosmonaut Schedule

LD1010221889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The launch of space module D for the Mir station where Cosmonauts Viktorenko and Serebrov are working, which was previously planned for 16 October, is to be pushed back to 28 november. [passage omitted]

Will the delay in the launch of Module D not lead to a serious reduction in work at the Mir station? After all, the crew of the fifth basic expedition has already started preparing to receive the module. Will the length of the space trip of Viktorenko and Serebrov be changed? Answering journalists' questions, (Blagov), deputy flight leader, said that the flight program was reviewed with one stipulation: The previous date of the Vityazi's landing would remain unchanged. They will return to earth as planned on 19 February. The start of the sixth basic expedition is planned for 11 February. Viktorenko and Serebrov will, during a week of joint flight, hand over the orbital complex to its members.

'Nyrok' Probe To Aid in Hydrological Research

PM1010100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by A. Presnyakov under the rubric "Science: Search and Solutions": "Underwater Tracker"]

[Excerpts] A remarkable apparatus—the "Nyrok" recoverable probe—has been created by the scientists and engineers at the experimental design bureau of oceanological equipment of the USSR Academy of Sciences P.P. Shirshov Institute of Oceanology. [passage omitted]

Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Prokhorov, the experimental design bureau's leader and chief designer, described the new underwater tracker's function and potential in more detail. [passage omitted]

"To this day hydrological research into seas and the open expanses of the oceans is carried out mostly while a scientific research ship is at a standstill. Sampling devices and automated measuring systems are lowered from on board to a given depth. The samples of water brought aboard are analyzed. Here time is spent unproductively and the process of scientific research is made more expensive.... 'Nyrok' can be freely submerged to a given depth while the ship is in motion and it accumulates hydrophysical information with the aid of an electronic memory. When the experiment has ended the probe is brought on board the ship and the detailed information it has collected is read by computer without opening its case. The electronic probe can supply scientists with very valuable information. After all, from the surface layers to a depth of up to 500 meters it records vertically the velocity of sound, the temperature of the environment, and electrical conductivity. A vast picture of the waters covering the earth is compiled from these data."

The "Nyrok" apparatus will be used on scientific ships to study the world's oceans.

Two Austrians Chosen for Joint 'Austromir Project'

LD0910141189 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—The selection of two Austrian candidates for a space flight has been completed in the Soviet Union. The chosen candidates are Clemens Lothaller and Franz Fibeck.

The selection was made under a commercial agreement on a joint Soviet-Austrian manned space flight (the Austromir project). A Soyuz spaceship with a Soviet-Austrian crew on board is to be launched in 1991.

The Austrian candidates are to begin studies and training at the Yuriy Gagarin Cosmonauts' Training Centre in January 1990.

The Energia scientific and production association of the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building is the enterprise contributing the most to the realisation of the forthcoming Soviet-Austrian manned space flight.

Lothaller, an anasthesiologist by profession, was born in Vienna in 1963. Following studies at a medical institute he served in the army. He now works in the surgey department of a Vienna clinic.

Franz Fibeck, an electrical engineer by Education, was born in Vienna in 1960. Upon graudating from institute he worked with the Siemens company and is now assistant at the measuring equipment department of the Vienna Technical University.

Military

Discussion on Military Secrecy, Glasnost

LD0710165289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2030 GMT 6 Oct 89

[From the "View" program, presented by unidentified moderator, with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev and Candidate of Economic Sciences Aleksey Kireyev]

[Text] [Presenter] Sergey Fedorovich, here is an example: I am in Belgium. I go into a children's toy shop, and there is a U.S. B-2 Stealth bomber, a model, lying there, and there is also a MIG-29, a MIG-31, an Su-27, a Tu-160, as well as a T-80, the tank they call the FST [Future Soviet Tank], and everything you like. They have toys of the latest types of military hardware—Soviet, U.S.—whatever you like. Why are the Americans not afraid to make information about these things available?

Or, say, in 1978 the F-16 Hornet had not been put into production, yet the whole country was discussing what this Hornet should be like, how much it should cost—$ 18 million or $ 24 million. Nobody knows about this here yet. When decisions are made to produce new types of hardware in our country, nobody knows anything about that, either. When I was studying at the institute, in our military department we had a secret table hanging up with the MIG-15. That was a big secret. Yet at that time....

[Akhromeyev, interrupting] You see, you and I would like to have traversed in 4 years the path which these states traversed over many decades. We are now moving swiftly toward glosnost and democracy, we are opening up one area after another. So what do you want; do you want us to have traversed in 4 years this path which took them decades? You do see, after all, how we have already started gasping for breath in our society. We already need, [changes thought] look, we are already taking urgent, extraordinary measures in order for the national economy to function normally.

[Presenter] But secrecy probably is not relevant to this.

[Akhromeyev] Yes, everything is relevant to it. I am not saying that secrecy hs something to do with it, but democracy and glasnost have everything to do with it.

[Presenter] I suggest we hear Aleksey's point of view.

[Kireyev] I, too, have a point of view on questions of democracy, and perhaps even glasnost in the military sphere. It seems to me that if we are claiming greater glasnost, and that really is the case, it is then necessary either to cite fairly full figures right away, or not to cite them at all. In this case, I shall only mention one example. For instance, for the first time we have stated the real figure for the Soviet military budget. It is true that we have never stated this figure in the entire postwar period: R 77.3 billion. However, for a scientist, for an analyst this figure is of almost no significance whatsoever,, because questions immediately arise. What, then, were the dynamics of previous years? What was there before: more or less? And a scientist needs rows of statistics in order to derive some kind of trend. We have been given one figure. A second question arises: What price is this figure expressed in, current or fixed prices? Is inflation taken into account or not? A third question....

[Akhromeyev, interrupting] Since you are a scientist, I shall make good that deficiency right away. Here you are, expenditure since 1976. Take it. [Akhromeyev hands Kireyev a sheet of paper]

[Presenter] That is an enormous contribution.

[Kireyev] Thank you very much. Will it be published anywhere?

[Akhromeyev] Wait a moment. Study it for the moment, and later we will agree how you are going to publish it.

[Presenter] Shall we show it on the television screen or not?

[Akhromeyev] No. Don't show it, let him take it (?for the sake of glasnost).

[Kireyev] You know there is another question here. I see straight away from the various articles that, in the main, it is the U.S. military budget which has been taken as the basis, and evidently expenditure has been calculated under these articles. But many of the articles are simply missing here. For example, the question arises: Is expenditure on maintaining troops abroad included. If it is included, let us try to work out in which article. This question arises....

[Akhromeyev, interrupting] Why does such a question arise? There are expenditures on the armed forces, an article on that. It is not important where they are located, abroad or on the territory of the USSR.

[Kireyev] This question arises because the in U.S. budget this is financed under a separate article.

[Akhromeyev] You know, let me tell you, you are very impatient people. You are young, you want everything delivered on a plate. Just think about how we found this budget of R77.3 billion. We did not have this figure. Previously the armed forces were interested only in their running costs—that was in accordance with the governmental decision. As far as concerns research and development costs, this was a matter for the ministries of the defense sectors of industry. Nor did we have to pay for items delivered in series. First of all we had to collect all of this. Indeed, we did take as our basis the U.S. budget so that there could be a comparison. We collected this, analyzed it, and published it. This again turns out not to be enough. We are now giving more. Again this is not enough for you. But you must understand, even though you are young, that not everything can be done in a day. Moscow was not built in a day. Moreover, you most frequently regard this as being the result of someone's ill intentions. But that is not the way, comrades. Everything is being done consistently, I repeat once again. What is needed is time, a planned approach and calmness.

[Presenter] Sergey Fedorovich, in connection with this, what is your attitude to the committee which has been set up in the Supreme Soviet on questions of defense, on matters of defense and state security? To what extent is this mechanism effective? How good are the specialists

there? Can it help the army or in any way tackle the problems with the defense sector?

[Akhromeyev] What sort of attitude can I have to it when I am a member of it? The fact that I am a member of that committee places on me every moral obligation and the obligation as a deputy to ensure that it functions normally. But, comrades, to ensure that it functions normally, that it can analyze the budget and can take a critical attitude to it, of course, it is necessary to train people for this. The committee is learning. And the members of the committee recognize their responsibility. But for them to become parliamentarians with an inclination toward military matters, of course, needs time, at least a few months.

[Kireyev] Do the members of the committee not think that, say, at times the government does not always give them complete information on military issues, even for members of the Supreme Soviet. For example, I was amazed by the passage in Voronin's report. In 1990 the deliveries of tanks will be reduced by comparison with the 5-year plan by 52 percent, deliveries of munitions by 20 percent, deliveries of combat aircraft by 19 percent. What figures are these percentages based on? Does the committee know this?

[Akhromeyev] If the committee needs it, it can receive any figure and the committee has at its disposal the necessary data in order to examine both the budget and, hence, the state plan for military production, and for the production of consumer goods in the defense industries. The committee has all the figures.

[Presenter] Thank you for coming in to our studio. Many thanks for your contribution to glasnost on matters of the Army and military construction.

[Akhromeyev] Thank you.

Military Leaders Greet Yazov on Return From U.S.

PM1010142389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under general heading "Visit Concluded"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who was on an official visit to the United States at the invitation of Secretary of Defense R. Cheney, returned to Moscow from the United States 7 October.

He was met at the airpot by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; Army General P.G. Lushev and Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense ministers; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other officials.

J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was among the welcome party.